

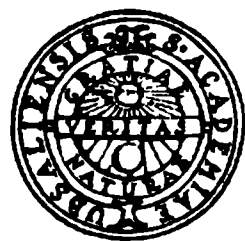
ΔΩΡΟΝ ΡΟΔΟΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΝ
Studies in Honour of
Jan Olof Rosenqvist

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JAN OLOF ROSENQVIST

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Foreword

Ἦσαν καὶ ἀνθῶν πρασιαί, ὧν τὰ μὲν
ἔφερεν ἡ γῆ, τὰ δὲ ἐποίει τέχνη·
ρόδωνιαι καὶ ὑάκινθοι καὶ κρίνα
χειρὸς ἔργα ...

Longus, *Daphnis et Chloe* 4.2

Δῶρον ῥοδοποίκιλον, a rose-dappled gift for Jan Olof Rosenqvist, professor emeritus of Byzantine Studies at Uppsala University. Look on it as a rose-sprig of the polyantha variety with its clusters of small blossoms. Here and there you may also find a hybrid gallica or a noisette, a damask, a double delight or even an American beauty. His colleagues in Byzantine and Classical Studies, Art History and Slavic Languages offer this bouquet of studies in gratitude for Professor Rosenqvist's faithful years of persevering service both to his field of scholarship and to his university.

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Le fonti di Teodoro Prodromo negli epigrammi per San Basilio di Cesarea

Augusta Acconcia Longo

I tetrastici giambici ed eroici di Teodoro Prodromo sugli episodi salienti – εἰς τὰ κεφαλαιωδῶς ῥηθέντα – della biografia di Basilio il Grande costituiscono la seconda sezione del complesso di epigrammi dedicati ai cosiddetti santi Tre Gerarchi¹, composti probabilmente per celebrare la festività ad essi dedicata del 30 gennaio, che sembra sia stata istituita da Giovanni Mauropode nel primo anno di regno di Alessio I Comneno (1081)². Preceduti dagli epigrammi in onore di Gregorio Nazianzeno³, e seguiti da quelli dedicati a Giovanni Crisostomo⁴, i tetrastici che narrano la vita di Basilio sono in tutto 38, ordinati in 19 coppie. Ognuna di esse, costituita da un tetrastico giambico e uno eroico, è dedicata a un singolo episodio, secondo il modo di procedere adottato dal Prodromo, oltre che in queste tre succinte biografie, anche negli epigrammi per l'Antico e il Nuovo Testamento⁵.

¹ *Cyri Theodori Prodromi epigrammata ut uetustissima, ita pijssima, quibus omnia utriusque testamenti capita felicissime comprehenduntur: cum alijs nonnullis...*, ed. Hieronymus Guntius (Günz), Basileae apud Ioannem Bebelium 1536, [ι 7^v - λ 4^v] (79^v-92^v). Sulle altre edizioni dei tetrastici e sulla tradizione manoscritta: Wolfram Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos. Historische Gedichte* [Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, XI] (Wien, 1974), 46-47; Mario D'Ambrosi, *Teodoro Prodromo. I tetrastici giambici ed esametrici sugli episodi principali della vita di Gregorio Nazianzeno* [Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, XVII] (Roma, 2008), 97-132.

² Su tale questione, si veda D'Ambrosi, 33-35, con la relativa bibliografia.

³ Riproposti di recente in edizione critica, insieme a un ampio studio, da D'Ambrosi, 138-165 (testo greco e traduzione italiana).

⁴ Lo stesso Mario D'Ambrosi è in procinto di pubblicare i tetrastici sulla biografia di Giovanni Crisostomo.

⁵ Grigorios Papagiannis, *Theodoros Prodromos. Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments*, I-II [Meletemata. Beiträge zur Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie, VII/1-2] (Wiesbaden, 1997).

Tale tipologia compositiva, che consente associazioni diverse di epigrammi di metro e lunghezza variabili, legati tuttavia in modo da formare un *unicum*, non costituisce una novità nella letteratura bizantina di derivazione classica. A ragione Mario D'Ambrosi rinviene un precedente dell'uso parallelo di trimetri giambici e di esametri in Gregorio Nazianzeno, nei carmi autobiografici *De vita sua* e *De rebus suis*, e in Giorgio di Pisidia, nei giambi del *De vanitate vitae* e negli esametri del *De vita humana*⁶. Come esempio di gruppi di epigrammi destinati a celebrare singoli aspetti di un più vasto argomento, si possono addurre gli epigrammi di Teodoro Studita sulla vita del monastero⁷, anche se non ancora incasellati nella rigida struttura di un numero fisso di versi. Caratteristica questa che distingue invece i due calendari in metro classico di Cristoforo Mitileneo⁸, il poeta dell' XI secolo cui Teodoro Prodromo guarda come a un modello con cui misurarsi⁹, e numerosi componimenti dello stesso Prodromo, primo fra tutti il monumentale complesso dei Tetrastici per l'Antico e il Nuovo Testamento¹⁰, che il nostro cita in un suo successivo componimento con esplicito orgoglio¹¹, i calendari metrici¹², gli epigrammi, anche questi organizzati in coppie di tetrastici giambici ed eroici, per i tre santi "militari" Teodoro, Giorgio e Demetrio¹³, per non

⁶ D'Ambrosi, 32, 36.

⁷ Editi da Paul Speck, *Theodoros Studites. Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* [Supplementa Byzantina, 1] (Berlin, 1968), 114-174. Sulle serie di epigrammi relativi a un solo argomento: Augusta Acconcia Longo, "Cultura profana e verità rivelata negli epigrammi di Teodoro Prodromo sulla creazione", *Rivista di cultura classica e medievale* 36 (1994), 259-270: 261-262; *eadem*, "Per una nuova edizione dei Tetrastici di Teodoro Prodromo sull'Antico e il Nuovo Testamento", in *Byzantina Mediolanensia, Atti del V congresso nazionale di studi bizantini*, a cura di Fabrizio Conca (Soveria Mannelli, 1996), 5-12: 8-9.

⁸ Enrica Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo* [Subsidia hagiographica, 63] (Bruxelles, 1980), I, 8-13; II, *passim*: nel commento ai calendari in metro innografico sono editi quasi tutti i monastici in esametri e almeno uno o più distici giambici per ogni giorno del calendario, il cui contenuto corrisponde a quello dei calendari in sticheri e canoni.

⁹ Augusta Acconcia Longo, *Il calendario giambico in monastici di Teodoro Prodromo* [Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, V] (Roma, 1983), 15-23, 35-46.

¹⁰ Cf. *supra* n. 5.

¹¹ Hörandner, 479 (Gedicht LIX, vv.175-177).

¹² Oltre al calendario in monastici giambici, sul quale si veda *supra*, n. 9, Prodromo compose con ogni probabilità anche un calendario in tetrastici giambici, di cui sono sopravvissuti alcuni epigrammi: Ciro Giannelli, "Un altro 'calendario metrico' di Teodoro Prodromo", *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 25 (1955), 158-169; *idem*, "Tetrastici di Teodoro Prodromo sulle feste fisse e sui santi del calendario bizantino", *Analecta Bollandiana* 75 (1957), 299-336. Questi articoli sono stati ristampati in Ciro Giannelli, *Scripta minora* [= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 10 (1963)], 203-213, 255-289.

¹³ Ciro Giannelli, "Epigrammi di Teodoro Prodromo in onore dei santi megalomartiri Teodoro, Giorgio e Demetrio", in *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni* (Firenze, 1960), I, 333-371, ristampato in Giannelli, *Scripta minora*, 349-378.

parlare di quei componimenti d'occasione dove sono utilizzati in successione due e persino tutti e quattro i più noti metri di derivazione classica¹⁴.

Non è comunque su tale aspetto dell'attività letteraria di Prodromo, sulle caratteristiche di metro, di lingua e di stile che intendo ora soffermarmi, ma piuttosto sul contenuto e sulle fonti della piccola biografia in versi.

Il commento dell'editore agli epigrammi sulla biografia di Gregorio Nazianzeno ha messo in luce la dipendenza quasi esclusiva del Prodromo dall'opera dello stesso Teologo¹⁵, e non poteva essere diversamente, vista la frequenza con cui Gregorio indulge all'autobiografia¹⁶, mentre del tutto marginale è il ricorso all'agiografia, e precisamente alla Vita scritta da Gregorio Presbitero¹⁷, che d'altronde dipende anch'essa strettamente dalle opere 'autobiografiche' del Teologo stesso.

La familiarità del Prodromo con l'opera del Nazianzeno si rivela anche negli epigrammi per Basilio, e ancora una volta la cosa non sorprende, poiché la più importante fonte biografica su Basilio è rappresentata proprio dall'orazione funebre composta dall'amico: quel *Discorso 43*¹⁸, che, esaltando Basilio, ripercorre la storia del sodalizio dei due Padri cappadoci, e che Prodromo aveva già utilizzato negli epigrammi per Gregorio¹⁹. Tutti gli episodi narrati da Gregorio nel *Discorso 43* – e intendo gli episodi 'concreti', i fatti, le azioni, non le lodi e le lunghe riflessioni del Nazianzeno sul carattere e le virtù dell'amico e sulla politica religiosa da lui perseguita –, sono qui ricordati nello stesso ordine della fonte, tranne due episodi che avrebbero potuto costituire una critica a Basilio. Parlo della separazione dei due amici alla fine del soggiorno di studio ad Atene, che Gregorio sentì come un "tradimento"²⁰, e della designazione di Gregorio a vescovo di Sasima, già ricordata nella serie precedente²¹, e che comunque non era indispensabile nella biografia di Basilio e di certo non avrebbe giovato all'esaltazione del personaggio celebrato.

A questi episodi 'dimenticati' si aggiunga la reticenza con la quale è condotta la narrazione della contesa, se così si può dire²², del vescovo di Cesarea

¹⁴ Ad esempio i carmi XXVI a-b, XXVII a-b, LVI a-b-c-d, Hörandner, 340-341, 342-343, 460-468. Cf. anche D'Ambrosi, 32 e n. 82.

¹⁵ D'Ambrosi, 36-53.

¹⁶ Hubertus R. Drobner, *Patrologia* (trad. ital. di *Lehrbuch der Patrologie*) (Casale Monferato 2002²), 384 ss.

¹⁷ BHG 723, *Gregorii Presbyteri Vita sancti Gregorii Theologi*, ed. Xavier Lequeux [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 44] (Turnholti, 2001): cf. D'Ambrosi, 36.

¹⁸ BHG 245, Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 42-43*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par Jean Bernardi [Sources Chrétiennes, 384] (Paris, 1992), 116-307 (citato da ora come *Discorso 43*).

¹⁹ Epigrammi 3a-b, 7a-b, 8a-b: D'Ambrosi, 142, 150, 152.

²⁰ *Discorso 43*, 24, Bernardi, 176-180: 178, l. 20, il Nazianzeno si dice προδοθεὶς παρ' ἐκείνου.

²¹ Epigrammi 8a-b: D'Ambrosi, 152; *Discorso 43*, 59: Bernardi, 252-254.

²² Drobner, 368.

con l'imperatore ariano Valente (364-378)²³. Negli epigrammi 9a-b²⁴ Prodromo ricorda lo scontro tra il potente prefetto del pretorio per l'Oriente, Modesto²⁵, e Basilio²⁶; in 10a-b narra la malattia di Modesto, la guarigione implorata e ottenuta grazie a Basilio, e il suo pentimento²⁷. In 11a-b ricorda altresì l'oltraggio perpetrato dal vicario della diocesi del Ponto, che trascina in giudizio, come un criminale comune, il vescovo Basilio, colpevole di aver accolto sotto la sua protezione un'aristocratica vedova in fuga da un matrimonio forzato; a Basilio il vicario ordina in modo infamante di svestirsi delle insegne episcopali, ordine cui Basilio può tuttavia sottrarsi grazie a un'imprevista sollevazione popolare²⁸. Questo episodio, che il Nazianzeno spiega come ritorsione alla politica antiariana del suo amico²⁹, non è collegato da Prodromo alla questione religiosa, ma, come il precedente, diventa uno dei tanti esempi del *topos* agiografico del santo che si oppone all'ingiustizia dei potenti³⁰.

Manca, però, negli epigrammi del Prodromo, qualsiasi accenno alla contesa diretta con Valente³¹, all'altalena di minacce pronunciate contro Basilio e di ripensamenti, di ostilità e benevolenza, così come alla malattia del figlio dell'imperatore, la cui morte Gregorio sembra attribuire al mancato pentimento del padre³². Su questa vicenda, accolta invece nella storiografia³³ e nell'agiografia³⁴, Prodromo sorvola completamente. Si può pensare che

²³ *Discorso 43*, 46-54, Bernardi, 222-240.

²⁴ Utilizzo, per brevità, lo stesso tipo di numerazione adottato da D'Ambrosi, che comunque non appare nell'*editio princeps* di Basilea, dove le coppie di epigrammi sono distinte soltanto dal titolo.

²⁵ Cf. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I, A.D. 260-395 (Cambridge, 1971), 605-608, s.v. "Domitius Modestus 2".

²⁶ *Cyri Theodori Prodromi epigrammata*, κ 4^v (= 84^v); cf. *Discorso 43*, 48-51: Bernardi, 226-232.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, κ 4^v (= 84^v); cf. *Discorso 43*, 55: Bernardi, 240.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, κ 5^r (= 85^r); cf. *Discorso 43*, 55-57: Bernardi, 240-248.

²⁹ *Discorso 43*, 55: Bernardi, 242, ll. 18-20.

³⁰ Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* [Millennium Studien, 6] (Berlin - New York, 2005), 178-180.

³¹ Oltre a Gregorio Nazianzeno, ne parla anche Gregorio di Nissa nel suo encomio funebre per il fratello, così povero, nel complesso, di particolari biografici: Greg. Nyss., *In laudem fratris Basilii*, PG 46, 788-817: 796-797, 804.

³² *Discorso 43*, 51-54: Bernardi, 232-240.

³³ Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, IV 26. 14-24, ed. Günther Christian Hansen, mit Beiträgen von Manja Sirinian [GCS, NF, 1] (Berlin, 1995), 261-262; Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI, 16, 1-3, übersetzt und eingeleitet von Günther Christian Hansen, III [Fontes Christiani, 73/3] (Turnhout, 2004), 722-726; Theodoret *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 19, *Théodoret de Cyr, Histoire Ecclésiastique, Livres III-IV*, texte grec par Léon Parmentier et Günther Christian Hansen, avec annotation par Jean Bouffartigue [Sources Chrétiennes, 530] (Paris, 2009), 250-260; Theophanis *Chronographia*, rec. Carolus De Boor (Lipsiae, 1883), 63-64.

³⁴ *Vita et miracula Basilii ep. Caesariensis* (BHG 247-260), ed. Franciscus Combefis, *Sanctorum patrum Amphilochoi Iconiensis, Methodii Patarensis et Andreae Cretensis opera omnia* (Parisiis, 1644), 155-225 (da ora Combefis): cap. 10, 185-188.

nell'età dei Comneni, visto per di più che la carriera di Prodromo non fu al riparo dai rischi di calunnie e accuse ideologiche³⁵, vantare la punizione di un imperatore (pur sempre cristiano, anche se eretico come Valente) attraverso la morte di un figlio (la famiglia Comnena non fu di certo immune a tali eventi) potesse apparire perlomeno indelicato?

Per il resto, tutto ciò che serve a delineare la vicenda umana di Basilio, tutti gli episodi per così dire 'narrativi' contenuti nell'encomio scritto dal Nazianzeno, diventano oggetto della rielaborazione poetica del Prodromo, compreso un episodio che non appartiene alla vita di Basilio, non ancora nato (è infatti narrato da Gregorio a proposito degli avi dell'amico, la cui lode apre, secondo le regole della retorica, l'elogio del defunto), ma che per la sua stessa natura di piacevole racconto favoloso non meritava di essere obliato. Si tratta della provvidenziale e prodigiosa 'caccia' di cervi e altra selvaggina con la quale gli avi di Basilio, rifugiatisi tra i monti durante la persecuzione del 311-313, riuscirono a procurarsi il cibo per sé e per il loro seguito³⁶.

Fino all'undicesima coppia di epigrammi, la fonte è fuori di ogni dubbio il *Discorso 43* del Nazianzeno e lo dimostrano non solo i contenuti narrativi dei singoli epigrammi, ma anche e soprattutto gli echi verbali e concettuali che saranno adeguatamente illustrati nell'edizione critica del testo.

Dalla dodicesima alla diciottesima coppia di epigrammi la fonte cambia bruscamente: dalle vette aristocratiche del pensiero e dello stile del Nazianzeno, alla narrazione 'popolare' dello Pseudo-Anfilochio³⁷. Un cambiamento che, in realtà, non deve eccessivamente sorprendere. E' vero che per un autore raffinato come Prodromo, che compone giambi ed esametri, sembra più congeniale la letteratura di alto livello, ma è anche vero che proprio con Prodromo si assiste all'apertura degli intellettuali bizantini verso la lingua e la letteratura popolari³⁸, e che comunque per un uomo del Medioevo la letteratura agiografica è di per sé, indipendentemente dai livelli di stile, qualcosa che, a parte situazioni estreme, non si mette in discussione (il Metafrasta, in fondo, si era limitato a ripulire l'aspetto esteriore di molte Vite e Passioni leggendarie): la Vita di un santo, quale che sia il suo livello stilistico, partecipa in un certo senso della riconosciuta santità del personaggio celebrato.

Ad ogni modo, la critica del Prodromo ha escluso tutta quella parte di narrazione dello Pseudo-Anfilochio che ripercorre la vicenda biografica di Basilio, aggiungendo alle notizie fornite dal Nazianzeno incongruenze, inge-

³⁵ Si veda il carme LIX Hörandner, 471-488. Cf. nn. 11, 75.

³⁶ Epigrammi 2a-b, *Cyri Theodori Prodromi epigrammata*, κ 3^r (= 83^r); cf. *Discorso 43*, 5-8: Bernardi, 124-132.

³⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. 34. Sull'opera dello Pseudo-Amfilochio: John Wortley, "The pseudo-Amphilochian *Vita Basilii*: An Apocryphal Life of Saint Basil the Great", *Florilegium* 2 (1980), 217-239.

³⁸ Hörandner, 65-67.

nuità, anacronismi. Accoglie invece alcuni celebri episodi miracolosi divenuti ormai modello narrativo, o entrati comunque nel patrimonio culturale comune. I ‘miracoli’ ricordati da Prodroso non sono tutti quelli narrati dall’agiografo, ma solo alcuni, ripresi comunque nello stesso ordine della narrazione agiografica, così come avveniva per gli episodi tratti dal *Discorso* 43 del Nazianzeno, a indicare, se mai ve ne fosse bisogno, l’ispirazione ‘libresca’ degli epigrammi.

Negli epigrammi 12a-b, Prodroso ricorda la conversione dell’ebreo durante la celebrazione dell’eucarestia³⁹. In 13a-b, la vicenda della povera donna alla quale l’esattore, nonostante le preghiere di Basilio, rifiuta la remissione delle imposte; caduto in disgrazia e divenuto a sua volta supplice, così come Basilio aveva previsto, l’esattore donerà alla donna il doppio della somma versata⁴⁰.

Nella quattordicesima coppia di epigrammi, Prodroso, pur di inglobare nella sua narrazione una celebre leggenda, contraddice il sistema cronologico adottato in precedenza, commettendo un anacronismo: dopo aver infatti narrato, nella parte ispirata al Nazianzeno, episodi che risalgono all’età di Valente (374-378), torna indietro nel tempo, all’età di Giuliano l’Apostata (361-363), con l’episodio dell’offesa e delle minacce rivolte dall’imperatore al vescovo di Cesarea (tra l’altro, Basilio nel 363 non era ancora vescovo di Cesarea) e della successiva uccisione di Giuliano, durante la guerra contro i Persiani, ad opera del martire di Cesarea Mercurio⁴¹: uccisione provvidenziale per i cristiani, che viene così annoverata tra le benemeritenze di Basilio⁴².

³⁹ Ps-Amphil., *Vita et miracula*, 7: Combefis, 177-178.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 8: Combefis, 178-179.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9: Combefis, 179-183. Sul martire, si veda Joseph-Marie Sauget, s.v. “Mercurio, m. di Cesarea”, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, IX (Roma, 1967), 362-367. La leggenda è, tra l’altro, anche in Ioannis Malalae *Chronographia*, XIII,25, rec. Ioannes Thurn [CFHB, XXXV] (Berlin – New York, 2000), 257. Cf. Tito Orlandi, *Studi copti*, 3, *La leggenda di s. Mercurio* [Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’Antichità] (Milano, 1968), 87-145: 96-110; Jean Gribo-mont, “L’historiographie du trône d’Alexandrie, avec quelques remarques sur s. Mercure, s. Basile et s. Eusèbe de Samosate”, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 7 (1971), 478-490: 486-489. Su alcune filiazioni occidentali della leggenda, qui datata troppo presto (IV sec.), cf. Alexander Haggerty-Krappe, “La vision de Saint Basile et la légende de la mort de l’empereur Julien”, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 7 (1928), 1029-1034.

⁴² Christopher Walter, “Biographical scenes of the Three Hierarchs”, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 36 (1978), 233-260: 243-250, parlando della duplice tradizione biografica che si riflette nelle illustrazioni relative a Basilio, rileva che sono ispirate al contenuto del *Discorso* 43 numerose miniature che illustrano il discorso stesso nel codice *Paris. gr.* 510, mentre scene ispirate allo Pseudo-Amfilochio sono testimoniate nelle chiese di Cappadocia e a Roma: solo una miniatura del codice parigino si ispira al testo agiografico, e precisamente alla leggenda relativa alla morte di Giuliano, a commento del *Discorso* 5 del Nazianzeno, la seconda invettiva contro Giuliano. Cf. anche *idem*, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* [Birmingham Byzantine Series, I] (London, 1982), 91, 94-95, 100, 190, 194-196, 229, 230.

Non poteva mancare, ed è presente negli epigrammi 15a-b, quello che è forse l'episodio più famoso della narrazione dello Pseudo-Anfilochio, che ha valicato i confini della Vita di Basilio, assumendo vita propria: il romanzo nel romanzo, la cui fortuna attraversa i secoli, del giovane servo che per amore consegna la sua anima a Satana⁴³, studiato da Radermacher come uno degli antecedenti della leggenda di Faust⁴⁴.

In 16a-b è narrata la guarigione, ad opera di Basilio, del paralitico che il prete Anastasio accudiva in segreto⁴⁵, mentre in 17a-b, è accolta la leggenda dell'incontro a Cesarea tra Basilio ed Efrem Siro, durante il quale Basilio avrebbe accordato la conoscenza della lingua greca ad Efrem⁴⁶.

Infine ricorda (18a-b) l'episodio del medico ebreo convertito da Basilio prima della sua morte⁴⁷, uno dei tanti medici ebrei o pagani stimati e famosi, che si incontrano nella letteratura agiografica quando si parla di malattie e guarigioni miracolose⁴⁸, la cui scienza deve però arretrare dinanzi al potere della grazia divina, e conclude con la narrazione della morte di Basilio (19a-b), tornando ad ispirarsi ancora alle parole del Nazianzeno⁴⁹.

Un'agile biografia in versi, nel complesso, che offre molteplici motivi di interesse, da approfondire nella sede appropriata. Nel leggere gli epigrammi non si può fare a meno di apprezzare, al di là dell'abilità versificatoria, la capacità di Teodoro Prodromo – un autore che anche all'interno di rigidi schemi formali, di complesse architetture compositive, riesce tuttavia a comunicare una vitalità intellettuale sorprendente, un'umanità che 'sfonda' gli schemi esteriori – di far rivivere le sue fonti per fornire, pur nel solco dell'imitazione e del rispetto della tradizione, un prodotto originale. Un significativo esempio è in due coppie di epigrammi, l'una derivata dall'encomio

⁴³ Ps.-Amphil., *Vita et miracula*, 11: Combefis, 188-197.

⁴⁴ Ludwig Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage* [Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 206.4] (Wien - Leipzig, 1927), 62-68, 122-148. Sulla leggenda del servo innamorato, cf. anche Robert Barringer, "The Pseudo-Amphilochian Life of St. Basil: Ecclesiastical Penance and Byzantine Hagiography", *Theologia* 51 (1980), 49-61: 55-60.

⁴⁵ Ps.-Amphil., *Vita et miracula*, 12: Combefis, 197-202.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 13: Combefis, 202-206. Cf. Joseph-Marie Sauget, s.v. "Efrem siro", in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, IV (Roma, 1964), 944-949. Senza narrazioni miracolose, i nomi di Basilio ed Efrem sono accostati in Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 16, 1-3, ed. Hansen, II [Fontes Christiani, 73/2], 402. Sull'incontro tra i due, oltre allo Pseudo-Amfilochio, si veda anche la Vita BHG 583 dello Pseudo-Gregorio di Nissa, PG 46, 819-850: 834, e la Vita BHG 584 di Simeone Metafrasta, PG 114, 1253-1268: 1260. Cf. Olivier Rousseau, "La rencontre de saint Ephrem et de saint Basile", *L'Orient Syrien* 2 (1957), 261-284. Cf. anche Bernard Outtier, "Saint Ephrem d'après ses biographies et ses oeuvres", *Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973), 11-33: 27.

⁴⁷ Ps.-Amphil., *Vita et miracula*, 17: Combefis, 220-223.

⁴⁸ Alcuni esempi in Pratsch, 228-244 *passim*.

⁴⁹ *Discorso* 43, 79-80: Bernardi, 298-302.

di Gregorio Nazianzeno (6a-b), che ricorda un episodio del soggiorno ad Atene dei due giovani cappadoci, l'altra (15a-b) che si ispira al ben noto episodio del patto col diavolo narrato nello Pseudo-Anfilochio. In ambedue si avverte, insieme alla rielaborazione della fonte, l'eco di un'istanza attuale e di una problematica personale del poeta.

L'epigramma in dodecasillabi della coppia 6 inizia con un verbo, un *hapax* del Nazianzeno, coniato proprio per l'encomio di Basilio, e proprio per narrare il soggiorno dei due amici ad Atene.

Σοφιστομανούσιν Ἀθήνησι τῶν νέων οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἀφρονέστεροι... così Gregorio apre la descrizione dell'ambiente studentesco di Atene nel suo complesso, agitato da rivalità tra i seguaci dei vari maestri, aggregati in fazioni paragonate alle tifoserie dell'ippodromo⁵⁰, che coinvolgono la vita dell'intera città. La descrizione introduce e spiega l'episodio in cui Basilio oppone un aristocratico rifiuto al tentativo di sottoporlo alla beffarda cerimonia di iniziazione riservata ai nuovi arrivati⁵¹, ricordato da Prodromo nella coppia di epigrammi 5a-b (*Εἰς τὸ κατὰ λουτρὸν Ἀθήνησι παίγνιον*). Quell'episodio, in cui Gregorio si schierò a fianco di Basilio, fu particolarmente significativo ai fini della loro amicizia, così come l'episodio successivo della narrazione del Nazianzeno (ricordato appunto negli epigrammi 6a-b). L'episodio cioè in cui un gruppo di studenti Armeni, invidiosi della fama e delle qualità del nuovo arrivato, cercano di mettere in difficoltà Basilio, ...ἐπηρώτων τε αὐτὸν φιλονείκως μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῶς καὶ ὑποκλίνειν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπειρῶντο διὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως... , il quale, però, con l'aiuto di Gregorio li mette in fuga clamorosamente a colpi di sillogismi⁵².

Il composto verbale σοφιστομανέω, che il Nazianzeno usava se non con disprezzo, almeno con divertita sufficienza per la massa degli studenti più mediocri, in Prodromo acquista un significato più pungente per descrivere il vano tentativo degli Armeni di umiliare le capacità logiche e dialettiche dei due Padri. A rinforzare il senso dispregiativo dell'*hapax* ripreso dal Nazianzeno, Prodromo aggiunge quello che sembra un altro *hapax*, suo questa volta, il κομψολεσχεῖς del v. 2⁵³, che significa parlare, ciarlare con eleganza, ma a vuoto⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ *Discorso 43*, 15: Bernardi, 150 l. 11-152. Si vedano al proposito le note dell'editore alla traduzione del testo.

⁵¹ *Discorso 43*, 16: Bernardi, 152-156.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 17-18: Bernardi, 156-160. Nelle sue note (156s., n. 3) Bernardi sottolinea l'antipatia di Gregorio per gli Armeni.

⁵³ Il *TLG on line* dà come unica occorrenza il nostro epigramma, erroneamente edito tra i *Carmina* di Manuele File. E' restituito a Prodromo in *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, 4, ed. Erich Trapp e altri [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, VI/4] (Wien, 2001), 856.

⁵⁴ Il termine deriva da κομψός, 'elegante, fine, sottile', e il verbo λεσχαίνω (da λέσχη), 'chiacchierare, ciarlare', dove il suffisso -αίνω è sostituito da -έω.

Si può pensare che nella polemica rappresentazione della vicenda Prodromo abbia voluto adombrare un problema attuale ai suoi giorni. Infatti il problema religioso rappresentato dagli Armeni, che mai avevano accettato le decisioni del Concilio di Calcedonia (451) – problema che serpeggia, in modo più o meno esplicito, nei secoli successivi – si riaffaccia apertamente, per motivi legati alle vicende del tempo, nell’XI secolo⁵⁵, ed emerge, connesso ad altre eresie, al tempo di Alessio I Comneno⁵⁶, per continuare fino ai tentativi di Manuele I di raggiungere un accordo con la Chiesa ‘monofisita’ armena, tentativi che non riuscirono a evitare il peggioramento dei rapporti⁵⁷. In verità, a parte l’uso fuori contesto del termine σοφιστομανέω, non vi è nulla negli epigrammi di Prodromo che esuli dal racconto del Nazianzeno, ma tuttavia non si può escludere che, in linea con un intensificarsi della polemica antiarmena⁵⁸, il poeta abbia colto il pretesto di questi epigrammi per proclamare la sua ostilità a correnti eterodosse presenti nel panorama religioso contemporaneo. Tanto più che Prodromo era allievo e amico di Michele Italico, il quale espresse nei suoi scritti la sua ostilità agli Armeni, sia al tempo di Giovanni II Comneno, sia dopo il 1143, quando, come metropolita di Filippopoli, dove risiedevano, insieme a Bogomili e Pauliciani, anche Armeni monofisiti, ebbe vari problemi con essi⁵⁹. Non si può escludere tuttavia che nelle parole di Prodromo si manifesti una generica xenofobia antiarmena⁶⁰, o comunque un pregiudizio radicato a Bisanzio contro certe componenti etniche dell’Impero, testimoniato anche in altre epoche e contro altri gruppi etnici, tra cui i Cappadoci⁶¹. Comunque, dato il contesto,

⁵⁵ Gerard Dédéyan, “L’immigration arménienne en Cappadoce au XI^e siècle”, *Byzantion* 45 (1975), 41-117; Nina G. Garsoïan, “The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire”, in Hélène Ahrweiler & Angeliki E. Laiou, *Studies on the International Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington D.C., 1998), 53-124, rist.: Nina G. Garsoïan, *Church and Culture in Early Medieval Armenia* (Aldershot, 1999), XIII. Cf. anche Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance* [Byzantina Sorbonensia, 12] (Paris, 1990), 396-402.

⁵⁶ Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081-1261* (Cambridge, 1995), 477-478; Gioacchino Strano, “Alessio I Comneno e la polemica antiarmena nei secoli XI-XII”, *Orpheus* n.s. 27 (2006), 154-168.

⁵⁷ Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 103, 133, 319-320, 368-369, 420, 476-477; Angold, 109.

⁵⁸ Strano, 157 n. 13.

⁵⁹ Michel Italikos, *Lettres et Discours*, ed. par Paul Gautier [Archives de l’Orient Chrétien, 14] (Paris, 1972), 27, 58-65, 245-270, 296-301. Cf. anche Robert Browning, “Unpublished correspondence between Michael Italicus, archbishop of Philippopolis, and Theodore Prodromos”, *Byzantinobulgarica* 1 (1962), 279-297, ristampato in *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education* (London, 1977), VI.

⁶⁰ Angold, 509-510.

⁶¹ Si veda – nel recente contributo di Sonja Schönauer, “Zu Spielarten der *mimesis* in der profanen Dichtung der Kassia”, in *Imitatio - Aemulatio - Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprachen und Literatur* (Wien, 22.-25. Oktober 2008), a cura di Andreas Rhoby e Elisabeth Schiffer [Veröffentlichungen zur By-

Prodromo ci tiene a distinguere, con l'omerico προφερέστερος (6b, 4), i Cappadoci dagli Armeni.

6. a. *Εἰς Βασίλειον μετὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐν Ἀθήναις διαλεγόμενον*⁶².

Σοφιστομανεῖς, Ἀρμένιε, πλὴν μάτην
καὶ κομψολεσχεῖς, πλὴν κενῶς χέεις ψόφους·
καὶ τίς γὰρ εἶ σὺ συλλογισμῶ καὶ λόγῳ
πρὸς Γρηγορίου καὶ Βασιλείου στόμα;

6. b. *Εἰς τὸ αὐτό.*

Ἀρμένιοι Βασίλειον ἔροντό ποτ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον,
τῷδ' ἐπὶ Γρηγορίῳ συνήντετο φαίδιμον ἄλκαρ,
καὶ τότε ἄρ' Ἀθήνησι φαάντερον ἐξεφαάνθη
ὅπποσα Καππαδόκης προφερέστερος Ἀρμενίῳ.

6. a. Tit.: μετὰ τῶν V: μετ' ed. 2 χέεις ed.: χέοις A 3 καὶ in A non legitur || σύ om. A

Più ambiguamente segnato dall'esperienza personale del Prodromo è il contenuto della coppia di epigrammi (15a-b) – o meglio, il contenuto dell'epigramma giambico – dedicati alla leggenda del servo innamorato che consegna la sua anima a Satana e verrà poi salvato dalla dannazione grazie alle preghiere di Basilio. E' l'unico caso in cui il Prodromo parla in prima persona, rivolgendosi (quasi a una divinità, anche se negativa) a colui che definisce 'grande male per gli uomini', con la preghiera di non avvicinarsi a lui, affinché egli non sia costretto dal suo potere a scegliere, come il servo innamorato, Satana (l'anticristo) invece di Cristo. Egli qui sembra pudicamente rinnegare la sua produzione di poeta erotico, riconoscendo al tempo stesso il potere terribile di Eros. L'autore di *Rodante e Dosicle*⁶³ fa ammenda dei suoi trascorsi?

E' da sottolineare nel tetrastico giambico l'invocazione iniziale Ἔρως δυνάστα, che rimanda all'immagine di Ἔρως βασιλεύς e alla sua rappresen-

zanzforschung, XXI] (Wien, 2010), 243-252: 248-249, con relativa bibliografia – il testo di epigrammi dove si esprimono pregiudizi contro Armeni e Cappadoci.

⁶² Dal Vat. gr. 305 (= V), f. 24^r; Paris. gr. 2831 (= P), f. 131^v; Athous 5681 Παντελεήμονος 174 (= A), f. 179^v (solo gli epigrammi giambici). Sui codici e la tradizione manoscritta degli epigrammi: D'Ambrosi, 97-132. Ringrazio il Dr. D'Ambrosi, per avermi inviato le riproduzioni del Paris. e dell'Athon.

⁶³ Hörandner, 55-56.

tazione nel romanzo di Eustazio (o Eumazio) Macrembolita, *Isminia e Ismine*. Sull'origine della rappresentazione, diversa da quella tradizionale classica e tardo-antica, è stata avanzata un'ipotesi che la individuava nell'influenza del romanzo d'amore occidentale, portato a Bisanzio nell'età delle Crociate, e più in particolare alla corte di Manuele I (1143-1180)⁶⁴, un sovrano ritenuto, a torto o a ragione, filo-latino⁶⁵, mentre, in realtà, le radici della rappresentazione affondano nella cultura bizantina⁶⁶. L'espressione di Teodoro Prodromo, che trova altri paralleli nella letteratura di corte dell'età di Manuele I⁶⁷, riecheggia curiosamente, in negativo, la celebrazione cortigiana dell'imperatore. Fare ipotesi su tale atteggiamento sarebbe imprudente, ma è da sottolineare che soltanto a proposito di questo tema Teodoro sente la necessità di intervenire in prima persona.

Al contenuto della leggenda torna invece l'epigramma in esametri, ricordando il patto stipulato per iscritto dal giovane con il diavolo e l'intervento di Basilio, che riesce a strappare il documento dalle mani di Satana, annullando il patto stesso⁶⁸.

15. a. *Εἰς τὸν δι' ἔρωτα γυναικὸς ἀρνησάμενον τὸν Χριστὸν ἐγγράφως, ὑπὸ δὲ Βασιλείου τυχόντα ἀφέσεως*⁶⁹.

Ἔρως δυνάστα, κακὸν ἀνθρώποις μέγα,
ἢ μηδαμῇ μοι μηδαμῶς προσεγγίσης,
ἢ μὴ τοσοῦτος ὥστε Χριστοῦ δεσπότην
τὸν ἀντίχριστον ἀνθελέσθαι δεσπότην.

15.b. *Εἰς τὸ αὐτό.*

Μὴ σύ γε ὦ τρισάποτμε ἀνήνεια υἱὰ Θεοῖο,
συνθέμενος Βελίη, τάχα φρήν τοι ὦλετ' ἔρωτι,

⁶⁴ Cf. Carolina Cupane, "Ἔρως βασιλεύς. La figura di Eros nel romanzo bizantino d'amore", *Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, Serie IV, 33 (1973-74), 243-297.

⁶⁵ Magdalino, *Empire*, 393 e *passim*.

⁶⁶ Paul Magdalino, "Eros the King and the King of *Amours*: Some Observations on *Hysmine* and *Hysminias*", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), 197-204.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 200 e *passim*. Cf. in particolare: Niceforo Basilace, *Proginnasmi e monodie*, ed. Adriana Pignani (Napoli, 1983), 184, 195.

⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, n. 44.

⁶⁹ V, f. 25^r; P, f. 132^v; A, f. 180^r.

θάρσεε, ἐλπίς ἔοι, Βασιλείῳ πρόσμολε ἀγνῶ,
καὶ ῥ' ὃ τὸ γράμμα λάβησι Σατὰν ἀπὸ χειρὸς αἰείρας.

15.a Tit.: ante ἀφέσεως add. τῆς ed. 2 μοι in P evanidum, om. A 3 τοσοῦτος codd.: —ov ed.

15.b 4 ὃ V: ὁ ed.

Nel complesso, come già detto, una vivace biografia in versi, che trae da fonti diverse la materia del racconto, che si ispira con lo stesso interesse all'alta evocazione del Nazianzeno e alla 'povera' leggenda agiografica, privilegiando il racconto, l'elemento narrativo, e unificando le due fonti nella duplice raffinata rielaborazione in versi. Una forma che, con ogni probabilità⁷⁰, doveva essere riservata dal poeta a temi religiosi di particolare impegno, come gli episodi dell'Antico e Nuovo Testamento⁷¹ e gli epigrammi sui santi militari⁷², i santi più venerati a Bisanzio in ogni età, ma in modo particolare quando il potere imperiale viene assunto da rappresentanti dell'aristocrazia militare, come i Comneni⁷³. Non sorprende che allo stesso livello sia posta la celebrazione dei santi Tre Gerarchi, non solo per motivi religiosi, ma anche per l'importanza che l'opera dei Padri della Chiesa ha rivestito per gli intellettuali bizantini nel corso di tutto il Medioevo, e la funzione di garanzia che essa ha rappresentato per la conservazione della cultura classica. Valore inestimabile per chi, come Prodromo, partecipa al rinnovamento classicista dell'epoca⁷⁴. Nel suo carme di autodifesa contro le accuse di eresia mossegli da un rivale invidioso⁷⁵, Teodoro sbandiera l'esempio dei Padri (in questo caso a Gregorio Nazianzeno, Basilio, Giovanni Crisostomo, aggiunge Gregorio di Nissa e Massimo il Confessore), che non hanno rifiutato, anzi hanno apertamente professato la loro frequentazione della cultura pagana, coniando al proposito l'icastica affermazione

⁷⁰ Uso una formula dubitativa perché, in realtà, la tradizione manoscritta di queste collezioni di epigrammi spesso tramanda solo i versi giambici. Solo pochi codici conservano anche gli esametri. Non si può perciò escludere, anche se non mi sembra probabile, che anche i tetrastici giambici del calendario, giunti solo in parte (cf. *supra*, n. 12), fossero accompagnati in origine da epigrammi in esametri.

⁷¹ Cf. n. 5.

⁷² Cf. n. 13.

⁷³ Francesco D'Aiuto, *Tre canonici di Giovanni Mauropode in onore di santi militari* [Supplemento n. 13 al *Bollettino dei Classici*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei] (Roma, 1994), 31-32; Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot, 2003), 44, 53, 124s. n. 97.

⁷⁴ Magdalino, *Empire*, 382-412.

⁷⁵ Carme LIX, Hörandner, 471-488: è lo stesso carme in cui ricorda i suoi Tetrastici sull'Antico e il Nuovo Testamento, *supra*, n. 11.

“... e se questi sono eretici, io sono eretico insieme a loro”⁷⁶. E non è di certo casuale che in tutte e tre le serie di epigrammi per i Tre Gerarchi Prodromo ricordi, in modo simile, la formazione culturale del protagonista e la sua frequentazione di illustri scuole, all’epoca scuole pagane⁷⁷. Né è casuale che gli argomenti della sua autodifesa poetica coincidano in sostanza con la difesa della cultura profana fatta da Gregorio Nazianzeno nell’encomio di Basilio⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 477-478, vv. 111-122, in particolare, 121-122: εἰ μὲν τὸ λεχθὲν αἵρετικίζειν λέγεις, / συναιρετικίζομαι τοῖς λελεγμένοις, letteralmente: “e se questo (che è stato detto) lo chiami essere eretico, ...”.

⁷⁷ Per il Nazianzeno: D’Ambrosi, epigrammi 3a-b, 40-42; per Basilio, ep. 4a-b; per Crisostomo, ep. 2a-b. Cf. *Cyri Theodori Prodromi epigrammata*, κ 3^{r-v} (=83^{r-v}), κ 7^v (=87^v).

⁷⁸ *Discorso 43*, 11: Bernardi, 136-140, in particolare 138-140, ll. 25-29.

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Conflated Accounts in Theophanes' Exposition of the History of Byzantium in the Seventh Century

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My study “A Lost 8th Century Pamphlet against Leo III and Constantine V?”, which Jan Olof Rosenqvist kindly accepted for publication in the jubilee issue of *Eranos*¹, presented a new way to “deconstruct” the chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor, by far the most valuable source for the Byzantine “Dark Age”, i.e. the period from the mid-seventh to the early ninth century. The starting point of the new approach was the discovery that George the Monk independently utilized the same sources as Theophanes in certain passages in the original version of his chronicle (cod. Coislin. 305 + the Slavonic *Letovnik*). Thus the comparison of the two works can help to recover some of the lost sources with much greater precision, especially since George tends to preserve narrative structures much better than his venerable predecessor. It is precisely this disregard of narrative sequences by Theophanes that has contributed more than anything else to the confusion that can be observed in many parts of his chronicle. In this paper I will try to show that a comparison with George's work can help to solve some of the riddles created by Theophanes' peculiar compilation techniques even in cases where the first chronicler does not have any additional information to offer.

Two texts will be discussed: first, Theophanes' description of the famous naval battle of Phoenix in 655, or “the Battle of the Masts”, as it is known in Arabic sources; second, the account of the beginning of the Arab conquest of Syria and Palestine some twenty years earlier. The chronological order will thus be reversed, the reason for this being that the story of the battle of Phoenix is a very clear-cut case, which will make it much easier to understand the composition of the rest. The comparison of the two chronicles is made more straightforward here by the circumstance that the Patriarch Nikephoros in his *Breviarium* omits the reign of Constans II altogether.

¹ Afinogenov, D. “A Lost 8th Century Pamphlet against Leo III and Constantine V?”, *Eranos* 100 (2002), 1-17.

The whole story has distinctly a “novelistic” character: it contains prophetic dreams, a clandestine flight in disguise, heroic self-sacrifice, etc. We may therefore assume that the prototype text used in constructing it followed the basic rules of narrative. However, what we see in Theophanes hardly conforms to any such rules². His story goes as follows: the Arabs prepare a fleet at Tripolis in Phoenicia. On seeing this, two brothers, sons of a trumpeter, liberate the Roman captives, kill the emir, burn the gear and sail off to Byzantium. The Arab fleet nevertheless arrives at Phoinix and engages Constans in a battle. The emperor has a prophetic dream. The Romans are defeated; the emperor puts his robes on another man (unnamed), whereupon “the aforesaid trumpeter’s son leapt into the imperial ship and, snatching the emperor away, transferred him to another ship, thus saving him unexpectedly”. Then the trumpeter’s son returned to the imperial ship and “the enemy surrounded him..., thinking he was the emperor”. After a courageous fight he was slain “as [was] the man who was wearing the imperial robes”.

The absurdity of this passage has been pointed out by A. Stratos³, but a simple solution can be proposed to explain it. It has long been established that Theophanes had at his disposal one or more Oriental historical sources covering the period down to 775. The main or perhaps only one of these sources is described by scholars as the Greek chronicle by Theophilos of Edessa. The original text is lost, but the bulk of the material survives in later Syriac compilations. Let us compare the stories found in George the Monk (who apparently did not have direct access to any Oriental source) and in the reconstructed chronicle of Dionysios of Tel-Mahrē (Chronicle of Zuknīn):

Georgius Monachus,
716,14 – 717,10⁴

Dionysios, §179⁵

[Two dedicated men release prisoners in Tripoli, kill the emir and escape to Roman territory]⁶

² *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiae 1883), 345, 16 – 346, 18. English translation by C. Mango: *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near East History AD 284-813*, ed. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford 1997), 482.

³ Stratos A., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, V vols. (Amsterdam 1968-1980), vol. III, 48-55 and 272-273. See also *idem*, “The Naval Engagement at Phoenix”, in *Charanis Studies, Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. Laiou-Tomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J. 1980) (= *idem*, “The Naval Engagement at Phoenix”, in *Studies in 7th Century Byzantine Political History* (London 1983), XII), 229-247.

⁴ The edited text (*vulgata*, or the revised version): *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor. Editio stereotypa correctior, cur. P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1978). Coislin. 305, f. 322–322^v. *Летовник Георгия Мниха* [Памятники древней письменности 26, 46] (St Petersburg 1878); 1880-1881), f. 328^v– 329.

⁵ *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, introduced, translated and annotated by A. Palmer (Liverpool 1993) [Translated Texts for Historians 15], 179-180.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180, n. 450.

The emperor has a prophetic dream, which is explained by a soothsayer.

The battle is engaged and the Romans are vanquished.

A plot is reported to the emperor. Constans exchanges garments with a friend of his.

He flees at night to Constantinople on a small vessel.

The enemy attacks the royal galley, thinking the emperor's friend to be Constans himself.

He kills many of the attackers and is finally slain.

The emperor has a prophetic dream, which is explained by a soothsayer.

The battle is engaged and the Romans are vanquished.

Constans is nearly captured by the Arabs.

The bugler's son leaps onto the royal ship and gets the emperor onto another ship.

The enemy attacks the royal galley, thinking the bugler's son to be Constans himself.

He kills many of the attackers and is finally slain.

Now, practically all of the elements in both columns are found in Theophanes, which leads to the conclusion that the chronicler mechanically conflated two different accounts of one and the same event without any attempt to harmonize them properly. As can easily be seen, both stories are quite logical and consistent in themselves, but Theophanes managed to ruin the narrative structure through careless combination. In full conformity with their respective provenance, one of the accounts presents the Oriental point of view, while the other displays Byzantine insider information – that of the conspiracy against Constans (which Theophanes omitted). By the way, George does not say explicitly that the second attack was carried out by Arabs – he says simply *πολέμιοι*, and the logic of the narrative compels us to understand here the conspirators rather than the invaders. Again, it is very hard to believe that George worked with Theophanes' confused text and managed to bring it into an acceptable shape. So the most natural explanation would be that George the Monk and Theophanes were using one and the same source independently in this case.

It is possible to surmise the nature and contents of the lost source in question by careful analysis of Theophanes' description of the initial phase of the Arab conquests. Let us look at Theophanes' account of the battle of Yarmūk.

A.M. 6126

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν <καταλιπόντες> ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Δαμασκοῦ πλήθος ὄντες ἄπειρον. Βαάνης δὲ μαθὼν πρὸς τὸν βασιλικὸν σακελλάριον ἀποστέλλει, ἵνα καταλάβῃ μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατοῦ εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ πλήθος εἶναι τοὺς Ἀραβας. κατέλαβε δὲ ὁ σακελλάριος πρὸς Βαάνην, καὶ ἀπάραντες ἐπὶ Ἑμέσης συναντῶσι τοῖς Ἀραβσι, καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἥτις ἦν τρίτῃ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, κγ τοῦ Λώου μηνός, ἡττῶνται οἱ περὶ τὸν σακελλάριον.

στασιάσαντες δὲ οἱ τοῦ Βαάνους Βαάνην προχειρίζονται βασιλέα καὶ Ἡράκλειον ἀπεκήρυξαν. τότε οἱ περὶ τὸν σακελλάριον ὑπεχώρησαν, καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ εὐρόντες ἄδειαν συμβάλλουσι πόλεμον. ἀνέμου δὲ πνεύσαντος κατὰ Ῥωμαίων νότου, μὴ δυνηθέντες ἀντωπῆσαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διὰ τὸν κονιορτὸν ἠττῶνται. καὶ ἑαυτοὺς βαλόντες εἰς τὰς στενόδους τοῦ Ἰερμουχθᾶ ποταμοῦ ἐκεῖ ἀπώλοντο ἄρδην. ἦσαν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν χιλιάδες μ. τότε οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ νικήσαντες λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν ἔρχονται καὶ ταύτην παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὰς χώρας τῆς Φοινίκης· καὶ οἰκίζονται ἐκεῖ, καὶ στρατεύουσι κατ'Αἰγύπτου. (Theophanes, 337, 23 – 338, 12).

The underlined text corresponds almost word-for-word to that of the chronicle of George the Monk⁷. What is in between, however, differs radically, for the latter refers to the two generals as Baanes and Basiliskos, the second name being an obvious corruption from βασιλικὸς σακελλάριος. George also knows nothing about the mutiny and the proclamation of Baanes, and therefore says that it was the entire army of both generals, numbering 40,000 men, that perished in the narrows of the river Yarmūk. The textual data suggests that George was not copying Theophanes here, since de Boor had to emend the first phrase in the passage, which does not make much sense as it stands in Theophanes' manuscript tradition (ἐστράτευσαν οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Δαμασκοῦ), precisely from George the Monk. The coincidences between the two chronicles can be explained by postulating a recourse to one and the same source. This in turn leads to the conclusion that Theophanes' account is a conflation of a work used independently by George and, again, of an Oriental chronicle, as parallels with Michael the Syrian demonstrate. Hence the superfluous mention of the combined number of the Byzantine force at the point where the sakellarios' men had already left Baanes. The proper place where this number is cited by Theophanes is to be found earlier under the year A.M. 6125 (Theophanes, 337, 11-12). This supposition is further corroborated by comparison with yet another work, which incorporates fragments taken from the same source as the one used by Theophanes and George. This is the *Life of Theodore of Edessa* (BHG 1744) written by his nephew Basil of Emesa in the mid-ninth century (i.e. roughly contemporary with George's chronicle compiled in 845/846)⁸. Here is the corresponding passage:

...καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι σὺν τοῖς Ἀραβι ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Δαμασκοῦ πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον, πρὸς οὓς παρατάττονται Βάνης καὶ Βασιλίσκος οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης, ἠττῶνται λίαν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διεφθάρησαν χιλιάδες τεσσαράκοντα. καὶ οὕτως νικήσαντες οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ καὶ πορθήσαντες τὴν Δαμασκὸν καὶ τὰς χώρας τῆς

⁷ *Vulgata*: 707, 3-16; Coislin. 305: f. 313^v; *Letovnik*: f. 318.

⁸ Basil wrote the Letter of the Three Patriarchs in 836. For the dates see Afinogenov, D. "The new edition of 'The Letter of the Three Patriarchs': Problems and achievements", Σύμμεικτα 16 (2003-2004) 9-33; and "Le manuscrit Coislin gr. 305: la version primitive de la Chronique de Georges le Moine", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 62 (2004) 239-246.

Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης κατασχόντες, ὧ τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν, ὧ τῶν ἀδήλων τοῦ θεοῦ κριμάτων, οἰκίζονται οἱ ἐναγεῖς καὶ βέβηλοι.⁹

Verbal coincidences in George and Basil go far beyond the fragments in Theophanes. What makes me believe that Basil was using this lost source independently of George is that the dating of the Arab conquest to the reign of Constans II rather than that of Heraclius could only have polemical aims, the most important of which must clearly be the emperor's monotheletism. In George's chronicle, however, this theme is not all as prominent when compared to Basil who, moreover, draws a clear distinction between the heroic Heraclius and the impious Constans, which in all probability goes back to the original work.

It is precisely this peculiar dating of the Arab invasion that helps us to identify the source in question with the lost work behind the passage by Anastasios of Sinai written in 700/701 that was later borrowed by Theophanes. The passage reads as follows:

And while the Church at that time was being troubled thus by emperors and impious priests, Amalek rose up in the desert, smiting us, the people of Christ, and there occurred the first terrible downfall of the Roman army, I mean the bloodshed at Gabithas, Hiermouchas, and Dathesmos. After this came the fall of Palestine, Caesarea, and Jerusalem, then the Egyptian disaster, followed by... the complete loss of the Roman army and navy at Phoinix, and the devastation of all Christian peoples and lands, which did not cease until the persecutor of the Church had been miserably slain in Sicily.¹⁰

Since this fragment can arguably be regarded as a summary of the account of the Arab conquests, which Anastasios found in the source he used, it becomes evident that the story of the battle of Phoenix goes back to the same polemical tract directed against the monotheletes and in particular against Constans II. Anastasios' summary also provides a logical concluding point for this hypothetical work, namely the assassination of Constans in Sicily. A part of the corresponding passage in Theophanes (under A.M. 6160, p. 371, 15-28) is likely to have been borrowed from the same source. The account as a whole, when compared with George the Monk, again appears conflated, as is clearly seen in Mango's translation (490-491), because part of the text in both chronicles has very close wording. The translation of *Letovnik* (f. 329^v) has two words omitted by Coislin. 305 and the *vulgata* that help to show that we are once more dealing with parallel traditions. While the Oriental source of Theophanes said that the emperor "began to smear himself with soap"

⁹ *Житие иже во святых отца нашего Феодора, архиепископа Едесского*, ed. I. Pomialovskij (St Petersburg 1892), ch. 21, p. 16.

¹⁰ *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann [Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 12] (Turnhout 1985), III, 1, 85-92. Theophanes, 332, 8-19; Mango, 462.

when he was struck mortally with a bucket (Theophanes, 371, 30-31), *Letovnik* maintains that he was hit with the bucket with which he poured (water) – съ ведром, имже поливааше (=διὰ τοῦ καδίου ᾧ κατέχεε *vel simile quid*). The active form of the verb in Slavonic might, of course, have been caused by the loss of the reflexive particle *ce*, but if the underlying Greek was indeed in the active voice, it had to indicate action performed by the murderer before he struck Constans. Also worth noting is the verb ἐδολοφονήθη in Theophanes, which presumes a negative attitude to what happened. The Patriarch Nikephoros also says δόλῳ φονευθείς¹¹, which may be a trace of yet another source in Theophanes' account, this time dealing with the reign of Constantine IV. George has only the neutral ἀναιρεῖται at the end of the entry describing Constans' wrongdoings. That entry is concluded with the mention of his assassination, whereas Theophanes has it both at the beginning and at the end of his account, probably from different sources. A fragment of the passage in question (without the information on the murder of Constans) is also present in the *Life of Theodore* (ch. 21, p. 15) with verbatim parallels.

The following passage from the *Life* may help us to determine the starting point of our lost source:

For when the Persians had been defeated and besieged by Heraclius and their emperor Chosroes had been put to death and there had been a brilliant victory, the aforementioned lands were in peace and the holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed calm, and all the Churches of God were in good estate (ch. 21, p. 16).

The original source obviously chose to assign to the reign of Constans both the beginning of the Arab conquests and the rise of monotheletism, disregarding the real course of events. Therefore, the most likely starting point that could serve as a contrast to Constans' wicked deeds would have been the return of the Holy Cross to Jerusalem in 629. The investigation of similar passages in both Theophanes' and George's accounts of the reign of Heraclius goes beyond the scope of this paper, but it is not improbable that their common source began with a very brief summary of his Persian wars.

One of the main conclusions indicated by this analysis of Theophanes' conflated accounts of the reign of Constans II is that practically the only source he could rely on for the Byzantine history of that period was a highly tendentious pamphlet against the emperor and his policies primarily but not exclusively in the religious sphere. Thus the section of Theophanes' chronicle dedicated to the Arab conquests and the reign of Constans appears to be based on four sources: the aforementioned pamphlet, the Oriental chronicle(s), the homily by Anastasios of Sinai, and a certain treatise about the

¹¹ Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople. *Short History*. Text, translation and commentary by C. Mango (Washington 1990), 33.

origins of Muhammed and the beginnings of Islam. None of these was utilized by Nikephoros either deliberately, because they did not provide a continuous history that could be incorporated into a classicizing historical work, or because he simply had no access to them. George the Monk used the treatise about Islam (the borrowings from which are substantially more extensive in Coislin. 305) and the anti-Constans pamphlet, both of them independently.

Since that lost polemical tract was available to Anastasios of Sinai in 700/701 and to Basil of Emesa around the first half of 850s, it would not be too far-fetched to assume that it was produced in the East sometime between 669 and 680, the *terminus post quem* being the death of Constans and the *ante quem* being the VI Ecumenical Council of 680/681. The most likely place for such a work to come into being was Palestine, because the conquest of the Holy Land is a focal point for the author, as can be seen from the following parallel passages from George and the Life of Theodore:

Vita Theodori

ch. 21-22, p. 16-17

καὶ τῆς ἀγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ περικρατεῖς γίνονται, ἔνθα τὸ σωτήριον πάθος γέγονε καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ἀνάληψις. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ὅρους τῶν Ἑλαιῶν ἀνελθὼν ὁ κύριος εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνήγαγε τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν, εἶτα καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοῖς θείοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐν αὐτῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτοὺς ἐξαπέστειλε φωτίσαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεογνωσίαν ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐκεῖ τὰ ἀπόρρητα δόγματα κηρύττεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἐκεῖθεν οἱ προφῆται πάντες καὶ ἀπόστολοι ἀνεφύησαν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὴ πάντων ὑπερτέρα καὶ θεομήτωρ ἐκεῖθεν ἐβλάστησεν καὶ τὸν τοῦ παντός κύριον καὶ δεσπότην ἀπέτεκε καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας γέγονε πρόξενος.

Ταύτην οὖν τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν καὶ

Georgius Monachus,

712,12-19; 715,21 – 716, 8¹²

ἐκεῖθεν γοῦν ὥσπερ ἐκ βαλβίδος τινος εὐδρομοὶ ἵπποι καὶ εὐσταλεῖς οἱ ἀπόστολοι εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἐξεπέμφθησαν, ἐκεῖθεν τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν ἤρξαντο. ἐκεῖ γέγονε τὸ σωτήριον πάθος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἀνάληψις, ἐκεῖ τὰ προῖομια καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, ἐκεῖ τὰ ἀπόρρητα δόγματα κηρύττεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν, ἐκεῖ πρῶτον ἀπεκαλύφθη πατήρ, καὶ ἐγνωρίσθη μονογενής...

..ἐξ ἧς ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος γέγονε καὶ οἱ προφῆται πάντες καὶ ἀπόστολοι ἀνεφύησαν καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πάντων οὐρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων κτισμάτων ὑπερτέρα θεομήτωρ βεβλάστηκεν καὶ τὸν τοῦ παντός κύριον καὶ δεσπότην ἀπέτεκεν καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας γέγονε πρόξενος, καὶ τὸ θεῖον ὅρος Σιών καὶ περιβόητον καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν μητρόπολιν τοῦ

¹² Coislin. 305, f. 316^v, 319; *Letovnik*, f. 321^v, 324^v.

<p>πάντας τοὺς σεβασμίους τόπους κατέσχον οἱ ἄγαν πονηροὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι Σαρακηνοὶ διὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας.</p>	<p>βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰερουσαλήμ κατ- έσχον οἱ ἄγαν πονηροὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι Σαρακηνοὶ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν...</p>
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The text probably made its way to Byzantium as part of the dossier that also included the Oriental chronicle(s) and some works by Anastasios in the late ninth century, possibly through George the Synkellos, the predecessor and friend of Theophanes the Confessor.

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Pausanias' *Periegesis*, Dionysius Periegetes, Eustathius' Commentary, and the Construction of the Periegetic Genre

Johanna Akujärvi

If 'the sense and structure of a work can be grasped only with reference to other models' that belong to the same generic tradition, how are works that have become isolated from their literary system to be read?¹ Considering the apparently almost complete disappearance of its literary context, this is a highly relevant question in the exploration of the genre of Pausanias' *Periegesis Hellados* from the second century AD.²

Genre is understood here as open categories, as historically determined groupings of texts according to rules created from within for communicative and aesthetic purposes by authors working within a tradition and by audiences reading and interpreting their production. Generic groupings of texts are based on some shared distinctions in relation to other texts, on the one hand, and some shared similarities between themselves, on the other. Genres are not mutually exclusive categories. Not all members of a generic group need to share one specific characteristic or set of characteristics nor does membership in one genre necessarily exclude affinities with another.³ Readers' competence and, as is often the case in the study of ancient texts, the

¹ G.B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation. Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca & London, 1986), 29.

² Recent book-length studies on the *Periegesis* include W. Hutton, *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge, 2005); J. Akujärvi, *Researcher, Traveller, Narrator. Studies in Pausanias' Periegesis* (Lund, 2005); M. Pretzler, *Pausanias. Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (Duckworth, 2007).

³ See E.D. Hirsch, Jr., *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven, 1967), 68–126; A. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature. An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford, 1982); R. Cohen, "History and Genre", *New Literary History* 17 (1986), 203–218; M. Depew & D. Obbink, "Introduction", in *Matrices of Genre. Authors, Canons, and Society*. Ed. by M. Depew & D. Obbink (Cambridge MA, 2000), 1–14.

actual survival of a larger body of texts with which any individual text can be grouped on the basis of shared traits, determine how well generic signals are grasped at present and, consequently, how much genre can guide modern readers' reading and interpretation of conventions. The difficulties in understanding the conventions of an isolated text make the value of the literary context obvious.

Our study of any ancient genre is hampered by our limited access to the tradition. The periegetic genre has suffered severely due to the hazards of textual transmission. Apart from Pausanias' *Periegesis*, the little studied *Periegesis* of the world by Dionysius Periegetes, a younger contemporary of Pausanias, is the only other surviving work by that title.⁴ The fragments of other *periegesis* may hint at the subject matter of the work but do not reveal its structure. The modern and the Eustathian construction of the periegetic genre is reviewed below, after which an alternative configuration of texts – Pausanias' and Dionysius' *Periegesis* together with Strabo's *Geography* – is attempted in search for a generic context. What follows is not an attempt to solve once and for all the problems of the periegetic genre; it is a reassessment of our limited evidence and an exploration of how we today can begin to understand the genre of Pausanias' *Periegesis* and the periegetic genre.

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In modern attempts to define the *periegesis* and to describe the characteristics of the genre, it is regularly divided into two subgenres, the antiquarian or historical *periegesis* and the geographical *periegesis*.⁵

To the latter subgenre are ascribed Dionysius' 1186 hexameters describing the whole world. In studies of the periegetic genre, this text is brought up as a contrast to Pausanias' *Periegesis* of Greece in ten books and then most often dropped from further discussion.

⁴ On the date and historical context, cf. E. Amato, "Per la cronologia di Dionisio il Periegeta", *Revue de philologie* 77 (2003), 7–16; E. Bowie, "Denys d'Alexandrie: un poète grec dans l'empire romain", *Revue des études anciennes* 106 (2004), 177–185; *Dionisio di Alessandria Descrizione della Terra abitata*. Ed. by E. Amato (Milano, 2005), 131–154. For an exploration of two literary contexts of Dionysius, see J.L. Lightfoot, "Catalogue technique in Dionysius Periegetes", *Ramus* 37 (2008), 11–31. This *Periegesis* was widely read until the 19th century, cf. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* s.v. "Dionysios (94)"; Chr. Jacob, *La Description de la terre habitée de Denys d'Alexandrie ou la leçon de géographie* (Paris, 1990).

⁵ G. Pasquali, "Die schriftstellerische Form des Pausanias", *Hermes* 48 (1913), 161–223; H. Bischoff, "Perieget (περιηγητής)", *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* I.17.2 (1937), 725–742 expanding the list of *periegetai* to 68 names; J. Schnayder, *De periegetarum graecorum reliquiis* (Łódź, 1950) reducing the *periegetai* to 24. See also F. de Angelis, "Pausania e i periegeti. La guidistica antica sulla Grecia", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* IV.2 (1998), 1–14, and Hutton, 241–272, modifying the image.

Pausanias' *Periegesis* is the prime representative of the former subgenre. Characteristic traits of the antiquarian *periegesis* are said to be that (1) it guides the reader, or maintains the illusion of doing so, by structuring the material in topographical order; (2) it centres on monuments and what is associated with them (their making and makers, rites, traditions, (hi)stories); (3) it uses vocabulary indicating the author's actual or fictional autopsy.⁶ A well known problem with this description is that it describes characteristics of Pausanias' *Periegesis* and transfers them to the genre. To supplement Pausanias' *Periegesis* the genre of the antiquarian *periegesis* is extended to a number of fragmentary works, the evidence of which, however, is problematic as the fragments give an idea about the subject matter but not about the structure of the work. The fragments that are added to Pausanias' *Periegesis* in the reconstruction of the genre fall into three groups.

First, fragments of texts cited by the title *Periegesis* at some point in the tradition. To this group belong the fragments of such little known authors as Socrates of Argos (*FGrHist* 310), Telephus of Pergamon (*FGrHist* 505), Theophilus (*FGrHist* 573).⁷ Better known and better preserved are Polemo of Troy, also called Polemo Periegetes, and Scymnus of Chios,⁸ who is not to be confused with the anonymous author, known as pseudo-Scymnus, of an iambic description dedicated to king Nikomedes.⁹ Apart from being fragmentary and cited as *Periegesis* in antiquity,¹⁰ these texts appear to share an interest in places, peoples, sites, sights, and, sometimes, stories associated with them. However, as most of the fragments come from Stephanus of Byzantium, who is solely interested in geographic and ethnographic glosses, the quantity and quality of the non-geographic or non-descriptive material is unknown, if, indeed, such material was included. The organising principle of these texts is equally unknown.

Second, fragments of texts by authors called περιηγητής at some point in the tradition. To this group belong Diodorus and Heliodorus of Athens, Polemo, and Dionysius; in addition Athenaeus (7.42) names Archestratus, the author of a mock-epic gastronomic tour of the world, a *periegetes*. The usage is first attested in Strabo's *Geography* (9.1.16); in the two first centuries AD,

⁶ Hutton, 247–263 accepts only point two.

⁷ Others: Antigonus *FGrHist* 775, Asclepiades *FGrHist* 697, Eumachus *FGrHist* 178, Hermias *FHG* 2.80f. (*FGrHist* 558, though the *Periegesis* fragment is not included), Crito of Pieria *FGrHist* 277, Mnaseas *FHG* 3.149–158. Cf. also Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 3.46 and Photius *Bibliotheca* codex 188 (Bekker p. 145b).

⁸ *Polemonis periegetae fragmenta*. Ed. by L. Preller (Lipsiae, 1838); F. Gisinger, "Skymnos 1", *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* II.3 A.1 (1927), 661–687.

⁹ The title of this work is unknown; both *Periegesis* and Περίοδος γῆς have been suggested, cf. *GGM* 1.196–237, A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (New York, 1952), 165–176; *Les géographes grecs. I. Introduction générale. Pseudo-Scymnos Circuit de la Terre*. Ed. by D. Marcotte (Paris, 2000).

¹⁰ Omitted are the *Periegesis* of Hecataeus of Miletus (*FGrHist* 1, also cited as Περίοδος γῆς) and of Ctesias of Cnidus (*FGrHist* 688, also cited as Περίοδος or Περίπλους).

this term is used more frequently, mostly referring to authors and sometimes to guides on site.¹¹ Later authors, mainly Stephanus of Byzantium, the *Suda*, and Eustathius, continue to use *periegetes* with reference to authors or live guides; the *periegetes* par excellence is now Dionysius who is often simply called ὁ περιηγητής, but there are also rare mentions of Polemo and Heliodorus.¹² In modern studies of the periegetic genre the fragments of Diodorus, Heliodorus and Polemo are central texts.

What does περιηγητής mean? When Strabo (3.1.1) turns from the general theoretical framework and the bird's eye view of the world to a description of the discrete regions with their bewilderingly varied histories, peoples, topographical character, quality of land etc. along a tour around the Mediterranean, *periegesis* is one of the terms he uses to name what he is doing.¹³ It is reasonable to assume that *periegetes*, the noun designating the person occupied with the action of the verb from which *periegesis*, the abstract noun, is derived, has a similar significance for Strabo – that is, one who leads (ἡγέομαι) around (περί) from place to place. In inscriptions *periegesis* appears to be used in the sense of 'leading around' the territory, explaining and showing – both the noun and verb appear to be used particularly in connection with border disputes.¹⁴ By the second century AD at the latest *periegetes* appears to have acquired a pregnant sense, designating someone who leads people around and explains things, viz. 'a guide.'¹⁵ *Periegesis* is used of the

¹¹ Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 5.45, 9.13, 9.38, 9.71, 12.77, 13.34, 13.60, 13.79, 15.52; Harpocration *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos* s.vv. Θημακεύς, Κηττοί, Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ etc.; Plutarch *Theseus* 36.5, *Themistocles* 32.5, *Cimon* 16.1, *Aratus* 13.2. Herodian's grammatical works are not taken into account here since it cannot be decided what derives from Herodian, what from his epitomisers, what from the fragments' source authors, and what from Lentz's reconstruction; cf. A.R. Dyck, "Aelius Herodian: Recent Studies and Prospects for Future Research", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.34.1 (1993), 772–794.

¹² Guides on a site, e.g. Julian *Epistulae* 79. Authors, e.g. Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica* s.vv. Ἀγχιάλη, Ἀραβία, Βηρυτός, Δωδώνη etc.; Photius *Lexicon* s.v. Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ (the entry is repeated in the *Suda* v 384); Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus *De thematibus* 39, 42; *Suda* δ 1181, π 1888; *Etymologicum Genuinum* s.vv. Ἀμπωτις, Ἀμφιτρίτη; *Etymologicum Gudianum* s.v. Καράμβις; *Etymologicum Magnum* s.vv. Ἀμπωτις, Καράμβις, Κίρρα/Κρίσα (*periegetai* in general) etc.; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 27 passages, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* 9 passages, *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem passim*, all referring to Dionysius.

¹³ Περιήγησις: 3.4.5, 7.3.10, 9.2.6, 11.12.1, 12.3.27, 14.1.1, 16.1.13, 17.1.24. Other terms include περίοδος (e.g. 6.1.2) and περιοδεία (e.g. 2.5.25, 7.5.3 (*bis*), 9.3.1, 9.5.14).

¹⁴ See Sh.C. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World 337–90 B.C.* (Berkeley, 1996), nos. 44, 55, 63, 118, 129, 131; cf. also L. Piccirilli, *Gli arbitrati interstatali greci. Introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione, commento e indici. I. Dalle origini al 338 a. C.* (Pisa, 1973), 38f.

¹⁵ Plutarch *De Pythiae oraculis* 395A, 396C, 397D, 400D, 400F, 401E; Lucian *Verae historiae* 2.31, *Calumniae non temere credendum* 5, *Philopseudes* 4; Aelius Aristides Ῥώμης ἐγκώμιον 226.6 and 8 Jebb. *Periegetes* refers to sacred officials in inscriptions, e.g. SEG 28.225; IG II².7447, III.721a, IV.723; *IoO* 77, 83, 110, 120. Cf. also C.P. Jones, "Pausanias

act of guiding people around.¹⁶ It is arguable that Diodorus, Heliodorus, and Polemo were given the epithet *periegetes* since they do in writing what live *periegetai* did on a site. It is, at the very least, noteworthy that the works of these same authors rarely are called *periegeseis* either (as far as we can tell) by the authors themselves or by those citing them. The attested titles suggest that the works of these *periegetai* were specialist monographs, with a very narrow focus on a single town, island, site, single monuments, monuments in a geographically limited area, or particular kinds of monuments; the subject matter is presumed to have been treated exhaustively.¹⁷ Again, it is unknown how the material was organised in their texts.

Thirdly, the largest group is fragments of texts that are judged to have been similar in content and form to the texts in groups one and two, viz. monographs on single monuments, monument types, cities etc.¹⁸ Only the fragments of Heraclides Criticus' *About the cities in Hellas* (GGM 1.97–110) are fairly substantial.¹⁹ The three fragments differ in character, and it cannot be ascertained how they are related. Mount Pelion and the extent of Greece is discussed in the second and third fragments. The first fragment catalogues cities in Greece giving cursory sketches on their inhabitants, plan, and, sometimes, monuments. One city is related to the next with stereotyped phrases such as 'from here [whatever city just discussed] to X are Y stadia;' occasionally some words on the condition of the roads are added. Unfortunately the fragments of other roughly contemporary works 'about' cities – such as Apollas' *About the cities on the Peloponnesus* (FGrHist 266), Philostephanus' *About the cities in Asia* (FHG 3.28–34), and Polemo's *About the cities in Lacedaemon* (title only) – do not reveal whether the cities were linked one to the other as in Heraclides' account.

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The modern construction of the periegetic genre is reminiscent of the distinctions made by Eustathius of Thessalonica in his commentary on Dionysius' *Periegesis* of the world (GGM 2.201–407).²⁰ Both are the results of an at-

and His Guides", in *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*. Ed. by S.E. Alcock *et al.* (Oxford, 2001), 33–39.

¹⁶ Lucian, *Charon* 2, 22. Slightly differently in Hermogenes (?) *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* 33.

¹⁷ Diodorus: *Περὶ μνημάτων*, *Περὶ τῶν δήμων*; Heliodorus: *Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἀκροπόλεως*, *Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν τριπόδων*; Polemo: *Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἀκροπόλεως*, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις πινάκων*, *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Σικυῶνι ποικίλης στοᾶς*, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πόλεων*, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀναθημάτων*, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς θησαυρῶν* etc.

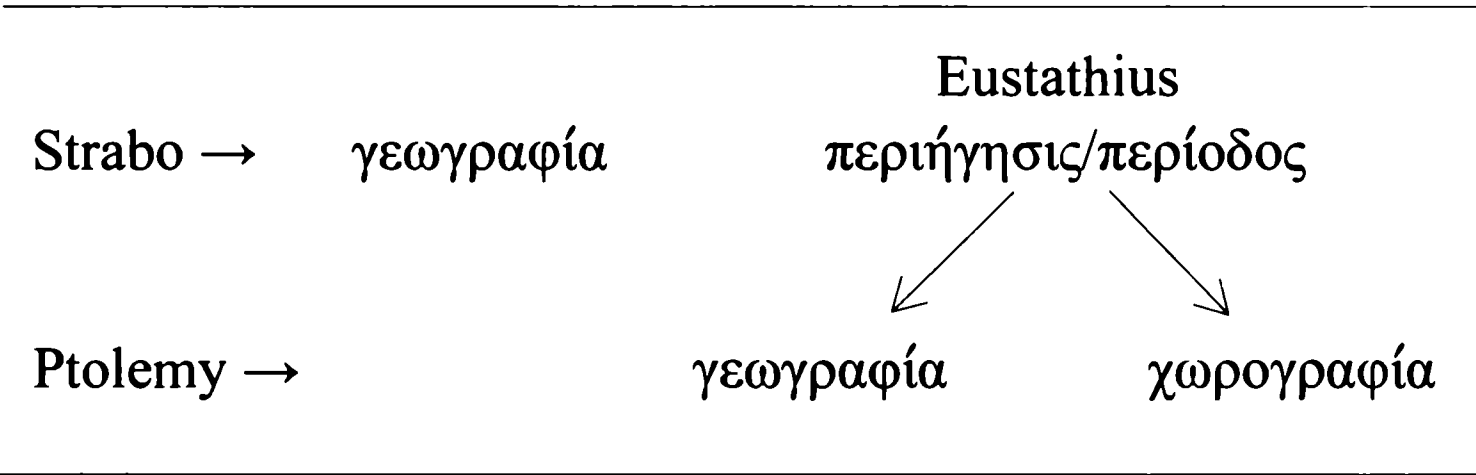
¹⁸ Bischoff, nos. 4–10, 17, 19, 22–68.

¹⁹ See also *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides*. Ed. by Fr. Pfister (Wien, 1951); A. Arenz, *Herakleides Kritikos »Über die Städte in Hellas«. Eine Periegesie Griechenlands am Vorabend des Chremonideischen Krieges* (München, 2006).

²⁰ Bischoff, 726f., Schnayder, 8f., Hutton, 250, deal with Eustathius.

tempt to understand the literary context of a particular text with a limited corpus that does not quite fit the text at hand.

In the dedicatory letter to the commentary on Dionysius, apart from flattering the addressee, extolling the value of the text, and commenting on its language and style, Eustathius tries to define *periegesis* in search for a context for Dionysius’ *Periegesis*. Herodotus, Homer, and Strabo are particularly prominent among Eustathius’ sources for this commentary.²¹ A number of geographical authors are cited, but only a few times per author.²² Strabo’s and Ptolemy’s geographical works seem to have been his two main geographical sources. Eustathius’ definition of the periegetic genre is an amalgam of Strabo’s usage of the terms *geographia* and *periegesis* and Ptolemy’s definition of the terms *geographia* and *chorographia*; for Eustathius, *periegesis* is the generic term, *geographia* and *chorographia* are its subspecies. The figure below illustrates this:



According to Eustathius, Dionysius’ text is a handy epitome of other geographers’ long expositions, interspersed with historical, ethnographical, and mathematical material. It owes much to geography, but it is brief and superficial, and, despite geographic tendencies, it is not quite a geography but rather leans towards the more general category of *periegesis* (GGM 2.211f.). When Eustathius comes to defining the term *periegesis* he turns to Strabonic evidence, observing that Strabo uses both *geographia* and *periegesis* and *periodos* to designate what he is doing – *geographia* is used about the theoretical frame, the whole work, and the broader task;²³ *periegesis/periodos* (synonyms, according to Eustathius) when a specific area is described in some detail (cf. above). Eustathius judges that in this Strabonic pair *periegesis/periodos* is the general term, under which he places the species *geographia* and *chorographia*.

²¹ See G. Bernhardt, *Dionysius Periegetes graece et latine cum vetustis commentariis et interpretatione* (Lepzig, 1828), *Index auctorum*.
²² E.g. Alexander of Ephesus at 558, 591; Artemidorus at 215; Eratosthenes at 1, 218 (via Strabo), 775, 867; Eudoxus at 694; Hipparchus at 473. All references are to sections in the GGM edition.
²³ Strabo 4.1.1, 8.1.1, 11.1.5, 12.8.7, 14.1.9, 15.1.10, 15.1.26, 15.1.38, 17.1.1, 17.1.36, 17.3.1.

At this point Eustathius turns to Ptolemy's distinction between *geographia* and *chorographia*.²⁴ Eustathius essentially takes over Ptolemy's definitions and descriptions of the two types of representation of the earth in writing and applies them to his subcategories of *periegesis*. *Geographia* represents the whole known world as one and continuous; it is concerned with sizes, proportions and relative positions of places, the nature and situation of its larger features such as bays, big cities, peoples, and noteworthy rivers. *Geographia* does not bother itself with the smaller details, unlike *chorographia* that, unconcerned with the larger picture, describes select sections of the world in isolation, bringing in even such small items as harbours, villages, demes, fountains, cities, rivers, roads and so on. In conclusion Eustathius maintains that Dionysius' *Periegesis* is of the geographical subtype: it describes the whole world in its entirety, treating the regions briefly and as parts of a whole (*GGM* 2.212 f.). While acknowledging that Dionysius' *Periegesis* is not a properly scientific geography, Eustathius thus secures the appellation of geography for the *Periegesis* by creating a geographical subgenre for the periegetic genre.

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Pairing Pausanias' and Dionysius' *Periegesis* with each other and juxtaposing them to Strabo's *Geography* – two texts entitled²⁵ *Periegesis* and one called so by its author – would arguably give these texts an alternative literary context, a context that is not contingent on hypotheses about the content and structure of fragmentary texts. These three texts have a common subject matter, organisational structure, and unscientific approach to describing the world, or sections of it – for Strabo's *Geography* this applies to its periegetic/periodetic parts following the two introductory books.

The subject matter of a *periegesis* is sights and stories – θεωρήματα and λόγοι as Pausanias puts it (1.39.3) – in the chosen area; the material is organised according to a topographical order. The realisation is different in every text. The authors' interests guide the selection of particulars; the geographical scope, circumstantiality,²⁶ and ratio of stories to sights vary; the granularity of the description depends on how close to the object of description the

²⁴ Ptolemy *Geographia* 1.1.1–5.

²⁵ Titles are problematic, cf. the contributions to J.-Cl. Fredouille *et al.* eds., *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques* (Paris, 1997); on the title of the *Periegesis*, cf. A. Diller, "The Authors named Pausanias", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 86 (1955), 268–279.

²⁶ The whole world in 17 books (Strabo) or in 1186 verses (Dionysius), Greece in 10 books (Pausanias), Sicily in 11 books (Theophilus; the numeral is problematic, see the apparatus at Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Παλική; it is deleted in *FGrHist* 573 *ad loc.*); cf. also Antigonus' *Periegesis* of Macedon.

author positions the account. Let us compare, for instance, the description of Athens/Attica in the three texts.

Dionysius describes the world from a bird's eye view, as if he was either performing an ekphrasis of a map or describing the world as seen from the wings of the Muses.²⁷ He does not go into particulars nor does he draw near specific objects. On a swift course from Peloponnesus towards the north of Greece (403–446), Athens is all but elided. In the three verses devoted to Attica (423–425), Dionysius mentions that it is situated north east of the Isthmus, that the river Ilissus flows through the landscape, and that Boreas abducted Orithyia at the banks of that river. The details are selected with care. By mentioning the myth of Boreas and Orithyia by the Ilissus, Dionysius alludes to the tradition about Boreas helping his in-laws the Athenians by wrecking part of the Persian fleet. Thus he evokes, without explicitly mentioning, the city itself and the achievement of the Athenian fleet in the Persian wars, arguably one of its proudest moments.²⁸

Strabo avoids describing the city of Athens, not by way of allusive elision but by way of hyperbolic *praeteritio*. Attica is embedded within its Greek, and Athens within its Attic context. The (non-)description of Athens including a short historical sketch (9.1.16–20) is both preceded (9.1.4–15) and followed (9.1.21f.) by a description of those parts of Attica one would pass by along its coast en route from Megara in the south to Boeotia in the north.²⁹ When Athens is reached, readers are immediately taken to the Acropolis. With the mention of the ancient temple of Athena Polias and the more recent Parthenon with its famous chryselephantine statue made by Phidias, Strabo cuts himself short declaring that he is facing an immense material that he is reluctant to go into lest the account deviate from its purpose. In other words, to approach an object too closely and to go into the particulars of single sites would clash with the mode followed in the rest of the work, viz. description through focus on the overall features without zooming in on particular objects.

Next, quoting Hegesias' declared inability to describe Athens and pointing to the fact that Polemo devoted four books to the dedications on the Acropolis alone, Strabo indicates that others, too, have been overwhelmed by the city. The reference to Hegesias may be read as a parallel to the perplexity that Strabo himself is facing in trying to select only some of the features of Athens to describe; the mention of Polemo's four books may be

²⁷ See, in particular, 181–183 (which may have been inspired by Strabo 2.5.33, cf. A. Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography. With appendix: The Manuscripts of Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes* (Amsterdam, 1975), 7f. with references, 530–533, and 707–717 (cf. Amato, *Dionisio*, 89–101).

²⁸ Cf. Herodotus 7.189; see also E. Oudot, "Athènes dans la *Périégèse* de Denys d'Alexandrie ou la mutation d'une image", *Revue des études anciennes* 106 (2004), 247–261.

²⁹ The account ends with an enumeration of islands, mountains (§23), and rivers (§24).

taken as an indication of what the result would be if the author were to go into the particulars. Is this an apology for deciding not to describe Athens?

Pausanias immediately immerses the reader into the details of Athens with minimal initial contextualisation, which may perhaps be due to textual loss.³⁰ The city is approached by sea via its harbours (1.1.1–2.4). The focus is constantly on the particulars – buildings, statues, paintings, histories, traditions, customs, and rites. Sites are broken down into sundry sights that are enumerated one after the other either in a topographical order, in an associative order, or in an apparently random order. The agora of Athens, for instance, is reduced to a number of buildings (stoas, sanctuaries, the Bouleuterion, the Tholos, the Odeum), paintings, and statues; some of the statues initiate long biographical/historical narratives (1.3.1–16.3). How the elements combine into a coherent image of Athens is not made clear. Readers are presented with the sights and stories deemed as most significant (1.39.3), but their interpretation is left open.³¹

As the account is focused on the individual sights rather than the sites themselves, Pausanias produces an extreme close-up in which the separate elements obscure the bigger picture – Hellas is turned into πάντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά (1.26.4). In this Pausanias' manner of description differs from that of Dionysius and of Strabo, but the difference is a difference in scale and distance rather than in essence. In Dionysius' *Periegesis* the objects are viewed from such high orbit that only the largest geographical features as mountains and rivers can be discerned; Strabo's *Geography* draws closer so that not only territorial subdivisions such as Attic demes, but also cities, harbours, and the occasional building can be made out; Pausanias' *Periegesis* moves so near that larger features of the landscape, natural or man-made, and overviews of cities are hardly visible for the bewildering complexity of unique elements that go into making up any single site, not to mention the larger entity of Greece.

The three texts organise the material along itineraries. One site/sight is connected to the next along a geographical or topographical tour. Just as the distance and the details vary, the indications of movement are also on different levels. In Pausanias' *Periegesis* the topographical network is more fine-grained than in the other two texts, a natural consequence of its zooming in on separate objects rather than viewing the larger bodies from a greater distance. Works of description, both the *Periegesis* discussed here and the *Periploi*, commonly connect the various objects of description – whether

³⁰ Cf. E. Bowie, "Inspiration and Aspiration: Date, Genre, and Readership", in *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*. Ed. by S.E. Alcock *et al.* (Oxford, 2001), 21–32, and J. Akujärvi, "One and 'I' in the frame (narrative). Authorial voice, travelling persona, and addressee in Pausanias' *Periegesis*", *Classical Quarterly* 62.1 (2012), forthcoming.

³¹ Cf. J. Akujärvi, "Pausanias", in *Space in Ancient Greek Literature*. Ed. by I.J.F. de Jong [Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative, 3] (Leiden, forthcoming).

they are the regions of Europe, the peninsulas forming Greece, the landscapes contained within the peninsulas, rivers, mountains, gulfs, bays, harbours, cities, or buildings, statues, paintings etc. – one to the next along continuous routes in potentially endless catalogues.³² The position of one object in relation to the next can be indicated with adverbs, prepositional phrases, or, more elaborately, with verbs of movement, mostly participial forms and often with a suppressed indefinite subject,³³ but it can also remain implicit.

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In sum, despite differences in focus, scale, and detail, the description of Athens by Dionysius, Strabo, and Pausanias, respectively, follow the same basic pattern of presenting sights and associated stories organised linearly along an imaginary route of the area covered in the work. The significance of influences from other generic traditions manifested in the three works – didactic poetry, geography, *periplus*, ethnography, antiquarianism etc.³⁴ – can best be assessed when the text has been securely situated within its primary, periegetic genre, which is arguably not as hopelessly lost in fragments as generally assumed.³⁵

³² Cf. P. Janni, *La mappa e il periplo. Cartografia antica e spazio odologico* (Rome, 1984), 120–130; Marcotte, lxvi–lxxii; cf. also Akujärvi, “One”.

³³ Cf. Akujärvi, “Pausanias”, and Akujärvi, *Researcher*, 131–166 on various expressions of movement.

³⁴ Cf. Lightfoot, *passim* for a much needed study on Dionysius.

³⁵ The research for this paper was done during a year at Corpus Christi College Oxford with funding from Sven och Dagmar Saléns Stiftelse. No substantial changes have been made since the final version was finished in 2010.

ABBREVIATIONS

FGrHist = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Ed. by F. Jacoby (Leiden, 1923–).

FHG = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. I. Ed. by C. and Th. Müller. II–IV. Ed. by C. Müller (Paris, 1841–1851).

GGM = *Geographi Graeci minores*. Ed. by C. Müller. I–II (Paris, 1855–1861).

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Ed. H. W. Pleket & R. S. Stroud.

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Domnika: Une sainte à revoir, un texte à corriger

Christine Amadou

La *Vie de sainte Domnika*¹ fait partie des hagiographies constantinopolitaines², mais elle fait malheureusement aussi partie de ces textes qui attendent toujours son éditeur critique. Tel que l'histoire de sainte Domnika se présente à nous aujourd'hui, on peut soupçonner une datation du texte bien postérieure au prétendu contexte historique, qui situe la sainte au quatrième siècle. En attendant un éclairage définitif, nous sommes confrontés à toute une série de questions: Comment étudier l'histoire de Domnika, même en oscillant pour la datation du texte sur sa vie ? Comment utiliser un texte aux multiples couches chronologiques aux fins de l'histoire religieuse ou de l'histoire des idées?

Cet essai se veut une exhortation à l'étude critique des sources, un remerciement à Jan Olof pour nos discussions et une défense de l'intérêt du texte malgré les insuffisances de nos connaissances.

Car même en reconnaissant les difficultés de datation, je tiens toujours à me servir de *La vie de sainte Domnika* comme source pour l'histoire des idées religieuses du quatrième siècle. En outre, avec une herméneutique un peu poussée, le texte peut nous renseigner aussi bien sur des siècles ultérieurs que sur le quatrième et, de plus, sur le quatrième vu à distance. Ainsi la prise en compte des différentes strates chronologiques représentent un véritable enrichissement du texte et de ses possibilités et non pas une délimitation de celui-ci.

¹ *Vita Domnicae*, édité par Theophilos Ioannou, in *Mnemeia hagiologica* (Venise, 1884), 268-284. Réédité avec une traduction en grec moderne dans D.G. Tsami (éd.): *Meterikon* (Thessaloniki, 1991), 200-227.

² J'ai traité une "poignée" de ces saints de la capitale dans ma thèse : *Med Byen som arena. En studie av hellige asketer i Konstantinopel på 400-tallet* [Acta Humaniora, 237] (Oslo, 2006). A la soutenance Jan Olof a été le premier rapporteur, apportant entre autre des précisions philologiques à cette thèse qui était ancrée dans l'histoire des idées. Et la discussion a justement porté sur sainte Domnika et sur les difficultés de la datation du texte.

Les multiples couches du texte reflètent des temporalités différentes:³ Les prophéties de la sainte sont racontées comme des *vaticinia ex eventu*, et un personnage historique ultérieur, comme Daniel le Stylite, y est introduit à titre comparatif. Tout ceci fait sortir *l'écrivain*, faisant son récit depuis sa position éloignée dont on ignore de combien d'années. Cette variation de temporalités souligne que l'histoire connaît plusieurs rythmes. Ainsi ce texte raconte des événements ponctuels, comme on en voit quand interviennent empereur et patriarche. Mais elle reflète aussi des phénomènes d'une autre «épaisseur de mesure»,⁴ comme la piété populaire et la subsistance de pratiques magiques. «Il n'y a pas d'histoire sans dates»⁵, ni de texte sans datation. Mais un texte comme *La vie de sainte Domnika* nous ouvre un champ de phénomènes tenaces dont l'analyse exige, à côté de la précision chronologique, d'autres outils qui montrent justement la *continuité* de certaines pratiques à travers l'histoire.

Une brève présentation de notre sainte méconnue s'impose. La *vie*, telle qu'elle est éditée d'après un manuscrit du dixième siècle, retrace une histoire qui est également connue du Synaxaire Constantinopolitain et raconte comment Domnika fait un long périple avant de débarquer dans la Constantinople de Théodose et du patriarche Nectaire. La future sainte venait à l'origine de Rome «l'ancienne». ⁶ Ayant quitté la maison paternelle en cachette, elle est partie pour l'Alexandrie où elle entre dans une prison qui héberge quatre jeunes filles vertueuses qu'elle convertit au christianisme. La raison de son installation derrière les portes closes reste énigmatique. Mais elle arrive miraculeusement à ouvrir ces mêmes portes, une espèce de *Türwunder* (miracle de la porte) à l'envers, sauve ses quatre prosélytes et trouve avec elles un bateau pour Constantinople. En y arrivant, elle est accueillie par le patriarche Nectaire qui a eu la vision de son débarquement. Il va à sa rencontre au port Julien et baptisera ensuite les quatre vierges. Et aussitôt commencent les activités miraculeuses de Domnika. Elle se fait remarquer surtout comme guérisseuse, notamment de souffrances mentales, et sa réputation va s'étendre sur tout l'empire. ⁷ De même que pour d'autres saints constantinopolitains, tels Matrona et Daniel le Stylite,⁸ son arrivée

³ Sur le concept de temporalité, voir Reinhart Kosseleck, *Vergangene Zukunft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1982).

⁴ Marc Bloch: «... chaque type de phénomène a son épaisseur de mesure particulier et, pour ainsi dire, sa décimale spécifique», *Apologie pour l'histoire*. 7^e édition (Paris, 1974), 149.

⁵ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La pensée sauvage* (Paris 1962), 342. Mais l'anthropologue continue: «... or le codage chronologique dissimule une nature beaucoup plus complexe que l'on ne l'imagine, quand on conçoit les dates de l'histoire sous la forme d'une simple série linéaire.»

⁶ *VD*, 2.

⁷ *VD* 8. Voir aussi la référence au ch. 11 à Mt 4,23 : «(elle) guérit toute maladie et toute langueur.» Toutes les citations bibliques sont empruntées à la Bible de Jérusalem, les traductions de la *Vita Domnicae* (*VD*) sont miennes.

⁸ *Vita S. Danielis* 10, 11-16 ; *Vita Matronae* 25. Dans les deux cas, c'est grâce à une vision que le protagoniste se tourne vers une capitale qui a besoin de sa sainte présence, de son vivant et après son décès. À ce sujet, voir notamment Michel Kaplan, «Le choix du lieu saint

aussi bien que son installation dans la capitale sont dues à une intervention divine. Dans le cas de Domnika, ses activités de guérison s'étendent bientôt à la ville entière et ce ne sont plus les habitant(e)s qu'elle guérit, mais la capitale elle-même. Sur son lit de mort, elle prononce une grande prière, ressemblant en partie à «La divine liturgie» de saint Basile, où ressort justement la préoccupation de Domnika pour la ville qui l'a accueillie: « Et la reine des villes (...) préserve-la du tremblement dévastateur, libère-la de la famine, de la peste, des inondations, des incendies, du glaive, des invasions étrangères et de la guerre intestine.»⁹ Ce souci de la capitale se manifeste aussi dans le prophétisme de la sainte.

A la différence de saintes femmes comme Olympias ou Matrona, Domnika prophétise d'une façon quasiment vétérotestamentaire: elle «imite»¹⁰ précisément le prophète Zacharie, prévoyant comme lui les malheurs à venir. Mais elle n'est pas une pure apocalyptique, son devoir est de mettre en garde et de sauver les habitants de la ville, par exemple en évitant les dates funestes. Quelque temps après son arrivée à Constantinople, elle manifeste le besoin de s'installer en un lieu tranquille, à l'abri des foules et des démons. Et l'empereur Théodose lui accorde un terrain où sera élevé un oratoire dédié au susdit prophète Zacharie. La *vie* raconte¹¹ comment elle fait changer la date d'inauguration de celui-ci, du 29 au 24 janvier, parce qu'un grand effroi menace la ville ce jour-là. L'inauguration est avancée, et la population peut échapper au mal que Gédéon identifie comme les troubles causés par les Ariens en 388.¹²

Raymond Janin insiste sur le caractère purement légendaire de ce récit, une critique qui vise aussi bien la fondation à la fin du quatrième siècle d'un monastère de femmes au lieu même du sanctuaire dédié à Zacharie («il est difficile d'admettre la fondation d'un monastère de femmes sous Théodose le Grand, alors qu'on n'en connaît que deux d'hommes qui remontent certainement à cette époque...») que la présence même de «notre» Domnika à Constantinople au quatrième siècle. Janin admet cependant que «l'existence du monastère ne semble pas devoir être mise en doute.»¹³

On peut se dire à peu près sûrs de l'existence à Constantinople d'un monastère nommé d'après une Domnika, mais dont l'emplacement nous est inconnu. Et ce monastère était construit au même endroit qu'un oratoire dédié au prophète Zacharie. Qu'elle soit théologique, typologique,

d'après certaines sources hagiographiques», dans *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident*. Sous la direction de Michel Kaplan [Byzantina Sorbonensia, 18] (Paris, 2002), 183-217.

⁹ VD, 16.

¹⁰ VD, 9.

¹¹ VD, 10.

¹² M.I. Gédéon cité par Raymond Janin, dans *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, première partie, *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat oecuménique*, t. III, *Les églises et les monastères*, 2^e éd. (Paris, 1969), 100.

¹³ Janin, *op.cit* p. 100-101.

légendaire ou littéraire, il y a une connexion entre cette sainte Domnika aux dons prophétiques et ce prophète. Et même si les doutes persistent sur l'époque où vivait sainte Domnika, sur son existence historique ainsi que sur la datation du texte, les renseignements fournis par sa *vie* sont largement suffisants pour stimuler les recherches d'un historien des idées ou d'un historien des religions.

Considérons la place de Domnika comme sainte urbaine: A l'instar de Daniel le Stylite, Domnika représente une autorité remarquable dans la capitale. Paradoxale aussi, car de sa modeste position elle réprimande la reine pour son manque de piété. Cette confrontation est racontée au chapitre 15 de la *vie*. On appelle Domnika pour sortir la reine (Eudoxie?) de la mauvaise voie où elle s'était égarée. Domnika sait combien le cœur de la reine est endurci et elle évite de lui rendre visite au palais, envoyant l'une des sœurs, Dorothee, à sa place. La reine n'ouvre pas et, en apprenant cela, Domnika prophétise en citant Matthieu 10,14-15 : «Et si quelqu'un ne vous accueille pas et n'écoute pas vos paroles, sortez de cette maison ou de cette ville et secouez la poussière de vos pieds. En vérité je vous le dis : au Jour du Jugement, il y aura moins de rigueur pour le pays de Sodome et de Gomorrhe que pour cette ville-là.» Et l'auteur de la *vie* conclut : «Ces mots sont devenus réalité. Car la reine est morte peu de temps après et n'a pas été jugée digne d'entrer dans l'église royale.»¹⁴ Cette citation est d'autant plus intéressante qu'elle est également utilisée par Daniel le Stylite quand il s'adresse à l'usurpateur Basiliskos.¹⁵ Le contraste entre la gloire périssable du palais et la puissance de la poussière rapprochent ces deux saints et les références au sort de Sodome nous rappellent leur souci pour la capitale, deuxième Rome et nouvelle Jérusalem. Sainte Domnika fait donc partie de ce groupe de saints constantinopolitains, qui non seulement vivent dans la capitale, mais qui y prophétisent et qui ont le salut de cette ville comme vocation.¹⁶

Mais sainte Domnika a aussi d'autres atouts. C'est une femme. L'un des rares articles relativement récents qui traitent la *Vita Domnicae* est écrit par Annabelle Parker et a été publié en 1999.¹⁷ Le sexe de Domnika y est considéré pratiquement comme sans importance : « (...) if one changed the name Domnika into Domnikus, one would not see much difference. It is most of all what she *did* that makes Domnika a role model. » L'évolution a

¹⁴ *VD*, 15.

¹⁵ Dans la *VDS*, 75, la citation de Mt 10,14 est indirecte ainsi que des références à Lc 10,11 et Ac 13,51. Au chapitre 14 de la *VD*, la comparaison avec Daniel est explicite: comme Daniel, Domnika a été obligée de quitter sa paisible demeure pour aider «notre mère à tous, l'Eglise.»

¹⁶ A ce groupe, on peut aussi ajouter sainte Matrone, qui est appelée à Constantinople après un drôle de rêve où se présentent trois prétendants au mariage, Alexandre, Antioche et Constantinos. Ils tirent au sort, trois fois de suite, et à chaque tour Constantinos sort gagnant. C'est donc Constantinople qui sera le lieu choisi de la sainte. *Vita Matronae*, 25.

¹⁷ Annabelle Parker: «A female role model among religious women: Domnika Hegoumena», *Gouden Horn* 7:1 (1999).

été rapide et importante dans le domaine de la recherche sur les «genres» dans l'hagiographie chrétienne et l'étude des saintes femmes suit difficilement une telle logique séparant l'être du paraître.¹⁸ Déjà en introduction, la *vie* indique une conscience de la transgression du genre: «Elle a rendu le féminin viril, ayant un esprit de mâle.»¹⁹ Ce «dépassement de la nature» est un lieu commun dans l'hagiographie des premiers siècles et elle représente la réplique rhétorique aux saintes femmes déguisées en hommes. Domnika reste une femme et opère parmi les femmes. Mais à un certain niveau elle a vaincu cette nature par son esprit viril et elle anticipe ainsi l'état de salut.²⁰ Cependant, c'est justement dans sa «virilité» qu'elle reste un modèle féminin, ayant dépassé les faiblesses de la nature.

Pour ce qui est de la «féminité» de Domnika, un fait est d'abord frappant: ses actions se déroulent dans un monde de femmes. Les protagonistes masculins qui y figurent sont les autorités au sommet des hiérarchies du pouvoir: L'empereur (le chapitre 8 relate la visite de l'empereur Théodose, attiré par les récits des miracles produits par la sainte) et le patriarche (le chapitre 7 raconte comment Nectaire est incité par un ange à aller accueillir Domnika lorsqu'elle débarque dans la ville). Sinon, ce sont des femmes. Des femmes qui sont sauvées, qui peuplent (évidemment) son monastère, des femmes qui sont guéries et des femmes qui sont délivrées du mal. Et c'est dans ce monde-là qu'on peut chercher cet autre rythme de l'histoire où le texte ne nous indique pas de dates précises mais témoigne de traditions d'une étonnante longévité, comme les pratiques de la magie et l'exorcisme des démons.

L'une des femmes qui cherche la guérison miraculeuse de Domnika a été la proie de charlatans.²¹ Sa maladie ne guérit pas et l'on soupçonne ses médecins traitants. En effet, grâce à Domnika on découvre que la malade a eu son oreiller rempli de feuilles aux inscriptions magiques. Ce n'est qu'en se débarrassant de ces feuilles sataniques que la femme peut recevoir la

La littérature récente sur la féminité dans l'Antiquité tardive et à Byzance est très riche. Un bon résumé des recherches se trouve chez Caroline Vander Stichele et Todd Penner, *Contextualizing Gender in Early Christian Discourse. Thinking beyond Thekla* (London, 2009). Sur la performativité et les rôles: Stavroula Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances. Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women* [Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 9] (Uppsala, 2005). Sur Byzance, avec des réflexions théoriques, voir par exemple les articles réunis par Liz James: *Women, Men and Eunuchs, Gender in Byzantium* (London, 1997), pour ne mentionner que quelques titres.

¹⁹ VD, 1.

²⁰ Sur ce vaste sujet, voir Kari Vogt, “‘Becoming Male’: a Gnostic, Early Christian and Islamic Metaphor”, dans *Women's Studies of the Christian and Islamic Traditions*. Éd. par Kari E. Børresen et Kari Vogt (Dordrecht, 1993), 217-242, K. Aspegren, *The Male Woman: a Feminine Ideal in the Early Church* (Uppsala, 1990), Gillian Cloke, *This Female Man of God, Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350-450* (London, 1995).

²¹ VD, 12.

sainte guérison, car il ne faut pas «rendre le mal par le mal»²². Domnika montre non seulement l'inefficacité de la magie, mais encore que ces pratiques sont inconciliables avec les véritables miracles.

Ce contraste entre magie et miracle est également connu d'autres vies de saints, où les pratiques «noires» sont dévoilées.²³ Dans la *Vie de sainte Irène de Chrysobalanton*, datant de la fin du dixième siècle, on trouve la description non pas d'un oreiller, mais d'une espèce de paquet où sont emballées des images magiques.²⁴ Et ce paquet est bénéfique, il guérit une soeur capadocienne de sa passion amoureuse, produit du diable. Ces histoires sont intéressantes pour illustrer la pratique continue des arts «noirs», surtout parmi les femmes. L'oreiller dans la *Vie de sainte Domnika* nous rapproche ainsi aussi bien des pratiques du dixième siècle que des traditions très anciennes. Les papyri nous renseignent à ce dernier sujet: le lit, les paquets ou les poupées, étaient des endroits recherchés pour déposer les feuilles ou images magiques.²⁵ Et l'un des avantages de l'oreiller, qu'on rencontre ici, était que la magie pouvait être dissimulée à la personne qui y posait sa tête.

La sainte qui dénonce les activités «sataniques» se déplace vers un niveau de croyance que l'orthodoxie a du mal à atteindre.²⁶ Dans *La vie de sainte Irénée*, l'ambigüité se traduit par une tolérance assez étonnante vis-à-vis de la pratique de la magie. Dans *La vie de sainte Domnika*, ces activités sont nettement condamnées. Pour cette dernière sainte, la démarcation entre magie et miracle est impérative, ce qui nous indique un ancrage dans l'Antiquité tardive. Comme Antoine, qui chasse les démons par la croix, les saints sont représentés comme les vrais intermediaires, qui rendent impuissants les démons, intermediaires prétendus et malfaisants. Domnika

²² Référence 1 Th 5,15. Pour cette idée de la magie qui chasse le mal par le mal, voir John Wortley, "Some Light on Magic and Magicians in Late Antiquity", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 42:3 (2001), 289-307.

²³ H.J. Magoulias, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D: Sorcery, Relics and Icons", *Byzantion* 37 (1967), 228-269, voir en particulier p. 234: "The Saints' claim to fame was not only that they were able to cure physical illness, but that they were also able to expel the demonic powers who caused them, and to vitiate the evil effects of sorcery and witchcraft."

²⁴ *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, 49. Jan Olof Rosenqvist commente dans sa note 13: "This magic procedure, a kind of *defixio* or κατάδεσις, can be paralleled with examples from Antiquity on, and from many parts of the world."

²⁵ Dans son livre *Dreams in Late Antiquity*, Patricia Cox Miller discute la relation entre thérapie, magie et rêve, et comment l'effet souhaité (thérapeutique ou érotique) arrive quand on place les objets magiques sous sa tête durant le sommeil. Voir par exemple p. 121. Pour les papyri, voir Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago, 1986).

²⁶ Il faut souligner que même en condamnant la magie noire, les chrétiens y croyaient fermement, ce que dit très bien A.A. Barb: "All the Christian theologians believed in the existence of the magic arts; not to do so would mean disbelieving the stories of the Old and New Testament, from that of the witch of Endor to that of Simon Magus.", dans "The Survival of Magic Arts", dans *Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*. Ed. A. Momigliano (London, 1964), 100-126.

vit cette rivalité permanente entre les forces du mal et les forces du bien, ce que l'on voit dans la condamnation de la magie aussi bien que dans ses nombreux exorcismes.

Ainsi notre *vie* raconte une histoire continue de démons qui assiègent la sainte femme avant qu'elle ne s'installe au sanctuaire de Zacharie et qu'elle ne les chasse ensuite du peuple possédé. Et même dans la mort, elle continue cette lutte. Elle se montre en vision en compagnie de Zacharie à l'éparche Eirenaïos quand elle sauve son monastère de l'incendie.²⁷ Et également *post mortem*: une femme possédée par un démon arrive au monastère en priant d'être délivrée. Et c'est à Domnika elle-même que s'adresse le démon: il se plaint de la force de Domnika qui l'a chassé de ce corps. Et tout en se plaignant, il quitte la femme et la laisse saine et sauve pour le reste de ses jours.²⁸

On voit dans ces histoires de femmes, de magie et de démons comment les forces du mal et les forces du bien sont vécues, tant au quotidien que dans ces traditions populaires qui ne font pas nécessairement la distinction entre miracle et magie. Même pour nous, les distinctions peuvent paraître floues. Mais en transmettant les multiples miracles accomplis par une sainte comme Domnika, l'hagiographe insiste pour nous apprendre la différence entre miracle véritable, et magie satanique. Cette différence est au fond même des temporalités différents de la religiosité populaire telle qu'elle est reflétée dans nos textes hagiographiques.²⁹ Car on y trouve ce rythme lent, où pratiques magiques et feuilles gravées semblent continuer de siècle en siècle, et qui nous invite à une étude continue, allant des papyri via la sainte Domnika aux saintes du dixième siècle. Une telle étude nous montrerait certes la ténacité de ces pratiques à travers les siècles, mais aussi l'autre rythme, plus ponctuel celui-ci, qui reflète les changements dans l'attitude vis-à-vis de la magie, allant de l'anathémisation à une «domestication» au service du bien.³⁰

Cher Jan Olof, merci pour ton inspiration et tes corrections. Et espérons que notre ménage à trois, avec sainte Domnika au centre, puisse encore se retrouver et évoluer, avec l'oreiller partagé !

²⁷ VD, 18.

²⁸ VD, 19.

²⁹ Les changements dans les attitudes vis à vis de la magie sont mis en évidence entre autre par Jennifer Nimmo Smith, dans "Magic at the crossroads in the sixth century", dans *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilisation in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*. Ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (Cambridge, 2006), 224-238.

³⁰ C'est la thèse de Marie Theres Fögen dans son article "Balsamon on Magic: From Roman Secular Law to Byzantine Canon Law", dans Henry Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic* (Washington, DC, 1995), 99-116. Elle conclut: "(...) as soon as the canonist took over the problem of magic, sorcery, and divination, this problem became more and more 'domesticated'. From the fourth to the fourteenth century the initial excitement and chaos (...) gave way to a professional handling which ended in a matter of routine."

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Praying with Holy Pictures: An Ethiopian Triptych and its Donors

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska & Witold Witakowski

The church of Yəmrəhannä Krəstos in Lasta province* is famous for its extraordinary architecture and painted interior decoration.¹ It is less known however that the site possesses a good collection of manuscripts and interesting liturgical objects,² among them a triptych which for several reasons deserves special attention. (Fig. 1)

The painting is executed with tempera on *gesso* primed wood.³ The central panel depicts the Trinity in the form of three elders, each holding a codex and with a hand raised in blessing. They sit within a patterned mandorla supported by the Four Living Creatures, which are identified by inscriptions.⁴ Below these are the twenty-four Celestial Priests, represented as nimbed, beardless youths, each weaving a censer.

At the top of the left wing Mary with the Child is depicted. Jesus wears a decorative cruciform halo and holds a white bird attached to a cord, the middle of which is also held by Mary. The archangels Gabriel and Michael, each armed with a sword, raise their wings above her head. Below, two saints face each other: Täklä Haymanot carrying an interlaced cross and a prayer stick and St. Libanos a hand cross.

* The authors are indebted to Father Emmanuel Fritsch and *liqä ḥaruyan qäsis* Alemnew Azene for checking the inscriptions against the original painting and for suggestions concerning their interpretation.

¹ For the literature on the church see, *Ethiopian Churches 2: Yemrehannä Krestos*, ed. E. Balicka-Witakowska & Michael Gervers, forthcoming.

² For the list of church possessions and the description of several items belonging to this collection see *ibid.*, chapter 4 and appendix 2.

³ 90 x 130 cm; wings 30 x 90 cm; central panel 70 x 90 cm; local inventory number: A.Mä/SäWä/LaS/Y 1231. The painting is mentioned in B. Playne, *Saint George for Ethiopia* (London, 1954), 120.

⁴ *gäṣṣä ʿanbäsa* - face of lion; *gäḍḍä säbʿ* - face of man; *gäḍḍä laḥəm* - face of ox; *gäḍḍä nəsr* - face of eagle.

On the right panel the Crucifixion occupies the uppermost register. The dead Christ is accompanied by the inscription⁵ “Jesus of Nazareth, said (to be) the king of the Jews”⁶ and is flanked by the dark Sun and the red Moon, both anthropomorphic and labelled as⁷ “the Moon became blood” and “how the Sun darkened”. A tearful Mary and John stand at the foot of the cross. In the lower register are three saints in half figure: Gäbrä Krəstos, Qirqos and Kiroso and below them St. George mounted on a white horse and armed with a spear.

The borders of the paintings are also coated with *gesso* and painted yellow with a scrolling half-palmette pattern, outlined in black in the central panel and by a simple interlace and the strips on the wings.

The back of the panels was once covered by a woven silk and cotton cloth, a fragment of which remains on the right-hand wing.⁸ (Fig. 2) It bears, on a blue-green background, a repeated golden pattern of lotus and palmette tendrils growing between ogival medallions.⁹ A rooster is set in the centre of each medallion, encircled by an honorific inscription in Arabic naming an unidentified ruler: “al-Sultan al-Malik al-Muzaffar al-Ghahir? / Ghamir? / Ghalib?”.¹⁰

The iconography of the scenes and figures depicted on the triptych reflects Western European influences that appear in Ethiopian art from the middle of the 15th century, a result of the presence in the country of a small group of European painters, as well as of the circulation of devotional images of European and Italo-Byzantine provenience.¹¹ This connection is visible in the first place in the depiction of Mary with Child, both playing with the bird – an iconographical formula that derives from Italian Renaissance,¹² and in the Crucifixion: Christ is fastened to the cross by three nails, flanked by Mary and John displaying their emotions, the latter not only crying but also turning his back to the cross, because he does not dare to face the suffering of his master.¹³ Also dependent on Western models is the Trinity depicted as three similar figures accompanied by the Celestial Priests rendered

⁵ ኢየሱስ፡ ናዝሬዊ፡ ንጉሣው፡ ለአይሁድ፡ ብሂል።

⁶ Above the inscription appear six signs, probably an awkward copy of INRI by a painter who did not understand the letters – one more element pointing towards a remote West-European *Vorlage*.

⁷ ወርህ፡ ዘከመ፡ ከነ፡ ደመ። and ፀሐይ፡ ዘከመ፡ ጸልመ፡

⁸ May be a Mamluk damask from the Ottoman period.

⁹ See for instance P.L. Baker, *Islamic Textiles* (London, 1995), 71 (fig. on p. 66).

¹⁰ The author is indebted to Drs. Michael L. Bates, Ramzi Bikhazi, Linda Northrup, Frederika Voigt and Michael Bates for information about this textile.

¹¹ Chojnacki, *Major Themes*, 375-468.

¹² St. Chojnacki, “Notes on Art in Ethiopia in the 15th and Early 16th Century”, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 8:2 (1970), 151f.; M. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the painter Fre Seyon* (Wiesbaden, 1944), 179.

¹³ St. Chojnacki, “Notes on Art in Ethiopia in the 16th Century: an Enquiry into the Unknown”, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 9:2 (1971), 45-50.

as young men. This iconography replaced the theophany of the Ancient of the Days in Ethiopia by the end of the 15th century or in the early 16th century.¹⁴

While our triptych shares the Western iconographical features with a large group of similar paintings, all dating to the end of the 15th or to the 16th century¹⁵ and originating, it seems, from different parts of Ethiopia, the style places it in a much smaller assemblage of works executed within the same time-frame in the Lasta province.¹⁶ In this group the double-sided triptych, Addis Ababa, IES 3450 is the closest parallel (Fig. 3).¹⁷ Both paintings share the figures deprived of naturalistic proportions and with oval or egg-formed faces and, in some instances, a round mouth divided by a line.¹⁸ The stylisation of clothing goes in two directions: some vestments are stiff, covered by parallel geometrical patterning, others are fluidly draped with swirling lower edges. The range of colours is large: in addition to the dominant red and yellow there are white, blue, brown and green – this latter being composed with aquamarines to embellish the cloth of the main figure: the Trinity in one case and Mary in the other.

The holy figures and subjects chosen for depiction on the triptych belong to those most popular for devotional purposes. The Marian cult focusing on Mary as mother of God and the main intercessor between Him and mankind, flourished in Ethiopia at the end of the 15th century, under the special patronage of the emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob¹⁹, that resulted in the mass production of pictures representing Mary with Child which then became the dominant theme of Ethiopian painting ever since. The other figure making an entrance at the same time into Ethiopian religious imagery was St. George depicted as a holy warrior, struggling against evil powers on behalf of his devotees. Certain texts frequently used in the liturgy encouraged the juxtaposition of his

¹⁴ Chojnacki, *Major Themes*, 102-33; Agostino Colli, "Note di iconografia etiopica: i Quattro Esseri Vivendi e la Trinità", *Arte Lombarda* 146 (2006), 23-33; *idem*, "Dall'Occidente all'Etiopia: cenni di iconografia della Trinità dal XVI al XVII secolo", in *L'iconografia della SS. Trinità nel sacro monte di Ghiffa: contesto e confronti. Atti del convegno internazionale*. Ed. C. Silvestri (Verbania, 2008), 33-53.

¹⁵ See Chojnacki, *Major Themes*, figs. 30-39; *idem*, *Icons*, 29-33; *L'arche éthiopienne: art chrétien d'Éthiopie* (Paris, 2001), 81-83; *Äthiopien: Christentum zwischen Orient und Afrika* (München, 2002), 40-52; C.G. Mann & S. Fogg, *Art of Ethiopia* (London, 2005), nos. 12-15, 17-20.

¹⁶ J. Mercier, *Vierges d'Éthiopie* (Montpellier, 2004), 102.

¹⁷ The central panel of the triptych depicts on one side Mary with the Child and on the other Crucifixion, Chojnacki, *Icons*, cat. 17. See also the round painting published by Mercier, *op. cit.*, fig. on p. 102 and S. Fogg, *Ethiopian Art* (London, 2001), no. 13.

¹⁸ Only saints Peter and Paul in the IES triptych. This detail appears similarly depicted in the 16th century triptych IES 4126, Chojnacki, *Icons*, no. 133, 377-379.

¹⁹ Getatchew Haile, *The Mariology of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob of Ethiopia: Texts and Translations* (Rome, 1992).

image with that of Mary and the Child.²⁰ The Crucifixion, which in 15th century Ethiopian painting abandoned the symbolic redaction of the scene²¹ and used the West-European models expressing the idea of Christ's redemptory death, became the devotional picture *par excellence*. Gäbrä Mämfäs Qəddus ("Servant of the Holy Spirit"), Kiros and Gäbrä Krəstos (St. Alexius),²² belonged to the most venerated and most often depicted saints of foreign origin. The portrayal of Täklä Haymanot ("Plant of the Faith"), the 13th century abbot of the largest Ethiopian monastic house of Däbrä Libanos in the Šäwa province,²³ was introduced to the repertory of Ethiopian painting in the 15th century and then became the most often depicted Ethiopian saint. The painter of our triptych accentuated his elevated status by making him larger than all the other saints. His companion in the picture, St. Libanos, who according to his *vita* arrived in Ethiopia from Constantinople in the 6th century, was one of the founders of Ethiopian monasticism.²⁴ Not often portrayed, he seems to appear on triptych as a result of the special devotion of the donors. Also the presence of St. Qirqos has a particular explanation. The cult of this child martyr spread to Lasta in the 15th century from his main shrine on an island of the Lake of Tana.²⁵ Many churches in the province were dedicated to him, among others being the church of Yəmrəhannä Krəstos to which the triptych was obviously a votive donation. Finally, the choice of the Trinity for the central panel of the triptych can be explained by the fact that its representation became very popular in the 16th century – probably as a result of Trinitarian disputes initiated in Ethiopia at the end of the 15th century.²⁶

Although the triptych does not differ from other relevant works in matters of iconography, composition, style or choice of the subjects, it is distinguished by the dedicatory inscription and by the presence of numerous invocations and prayers inscribed either next to each holy figure or within their nimbi. They are supplications on behalf of three persons: ʿAśratä Wäld ('The Tithe of the Son') and his two companions: Teyogolos (a garbled form of

²⁰ In the first place one of the Miracles of Mary, cf. Getatchew Haile, *op. cit.*, 195-201, and the entry in the Synaxary on the translation of the body of St. George, cf. I. Guidi (ed. & transl.), "Le Synaxaire ethiopien. III. Les mois de Nehasé et de Pâguemen", *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 9:4 (1913), 340. See also M. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Fre Seyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality* (Wiesbaden, 1994), 175-178.

²¹ This iconographic type did not represent Christ on the cross. His presence was expressed symbolically by the depiction of a lamb above the cross or simply by a jewelled cross, see E. Balicka-Witakowska, *Crucifixion sans le Crucifié dans l'art éthiopien. Recherches sur la survie de l'iconographie chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive* (Wiesbaden & Warszawa, 1997).

²² See P. Marrassini, "Gäbrä Mämfäs Qəddus", in EAE 2, 612-622; *idem*, "Kiros", EAE 3, 409-411; A. Bausi, "Gäbrä Krəstos", EAE 2, 615f.

²³ D. Nosnitsin, "Täklä Haymanot", EAE 4, 831-834.

²⁴ A. Bausi, "Libanos", EAE 3, 558-560.

²⁵ E. Balicka-Witakowska, "Qirqos", EAE 4, 292-94.

²⁶ Tedros Abraha, "Trinity", EAE 4, 990-94, esp. 992.

*Tewologos, i.e. ‘Theologian’?) and Aśa’ənä Maryam (‘The Sandals of Mary’).

The writing is non-calligraphic, often unclear²⁷ and the text inserted haphazardly.²⁸ Moreover, the scribe did not use black colour but an ink, obviously of low quality, which has partially faded away leaving several *lacunae*. In contrast to the manuscripts where the names of the holy figures are customarily written with red ink, here all the words are black with the exception of the long dedicatory inscription under the Trinity. This was written in red and would be the best preserved were it not for the candle-grease droppings covering some letters.

The inscriptions read as follows:²⁹

Central panel

1. Above the Holy Trinity:

ሥዕለ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አሐዱ፡ አምላክ፡ አስራተ፡ ወልድ፡ አስምእዎ፡
ቃለ፡ ፍስሐ፡ ምስለ፡ አሳእነ፡ ማርያም፡ ወቴዮጎሎስ።

Image of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God; ‘Aśratä Wäld³⁰ together with Aśa’ənä Maryam and Teyogolos make him hear the voice of joy.³¹

2. Below the Trinity:

ዕስራ፡ ወአርባእቲ፡ ካህናተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ኩልክሙ፡ ጸሎተ፡ አስራተ፡ ወልድ፡ አሐዱ፡
በፍያልክሙ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ሥዕል፡ ዘአስከልክዎ፡ አነ፡ አስራተ፡ ወልድ፡ በፍቅርሙ፡ ንዱድ፡ ለአብ፡
ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዋህድ፡ ወበፍቅራ፡ ለማርያም፡ ወበእንተ፡ ካህናት፡ ሰማያውያን፡
[...] ከመ፡ ይትሀበዩዎ፡ በግርምት፡ ? ? ድ፡ ያብእዎሙ፡ ለብርሃነ፡ ዓፀድ፡ ምስለ፡ ቴዮጎሎስ።

Twenty four Priests of Heaven, all of you. The prayer of ‘Aśratä Wäld. “One bowl”³² for you, this image that I, ‘Aśratä Wäld, have ordered, by my ardent love for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the only (God) and by (my)

²⁷ In many letters the difference between the first and the fourth vowel orders is almost invisible; the same applies to the two dots indicating the end of a word and the four dots marking the end of a sentence.

²⁸ The text is not always written horizontally but also vertically.

²⁹ Wherever it was possible, the text was conjecturally restored and is not entirely certain.

³⁰ Here and in all the other inscriptions the orthography of the texts has been kept, but in the translation the names of the persons have been made regular, i.e., in accordance with the spelling provided by the extant dictionaries.

³¹ Cf. Ps 81:1; 98:4; 100:1.

³² Cf. Num. 7:13.

love for Mary and for the sake of the heavenly priests [...] so that they might take care of him, together with Teyogolos, by the majestic [...] bring them into the luminous circle.

Left-hand panel, top: Mary with the Child

1. Inside Mary's halo:

ማርያም፡ ምስለ፡ ወልዳ፡ ነፍሰ፡ አስራተ፡ ወልድ፡ ባርኪ፡ ምስለ፡ ቴዮጎሎስ፡ ገብርኪ፡ አሜን፡

“O, Mary with (your) son! Bless the soul of ‘Aśratä Wäld together with your servant Teyogolos, amen”.

2. Inside the Archangel Michael's halo:

ሚካኤል፡ በርእሰ፡ ክንፈክ፡ ጸልል፡ አስራተ፡ ወልድ፡

“O Michael! With the tip of your wing cover ‘Aśratä Wäld”.

3. Inside the Archangel Gabriel's halo:

ገብርኤል፡ ለአስራተ፡ ወልድ፡ ትኖልዎ፡ እም፡ ሐዢል፡

“O, Gabriel! May you guard ‘Aśratä Wäld from perdition”.

Left-hand panel, bottom: Saints Täklä Haymanot and Libanos.

1. Täklä Haymanot, across his halo:

አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ አስራተ፡ ወልድ፡ ንስእ፡³³

[አ]ስራተ፡ ምሕረት፡

“*Abunä*³⁴ Täklä Haymanot! accept ‘Aśratä Wäld (as) the tithe of mercy³⁵”.

2. Libanos, inside his halo:

አበ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ንስእ፡ አስራተ፡ ለገብርክ፡ አሳእነ፡ ማርያም፡ ምስለ፡ ቴዮጎሎስ፡

³³ There: *nəsəʾ* instead of *nəsaʾ* and similarly in other places.

³⁴ “Our father” - title applied to address the abbots and important ecclesiastic figures.

³⁵ This should be understood as the tithe given to receive mercy and belonging to the concept of *Kidanä məhrät* - the “Covenant of Mercy”, see S. Weininger, “Kidanä məhrät”, EAE 3, p. 396 f. Compare also the expression used in the inscription accompanying St. Kiros.

“O, *abba* ³⁶ Libanos! Receive the tithe³⁷ on behalf of your servant Aśa’ənä Maryam together with Teyogolos.”

Right-hand panel: top, Crucifixion

1. Under the right hand of Jesus:

በእንተዝ፡ ደምከ፡ መሐሮ፡ ለአስራተ፡ ወልድ፡ ገብርክ፡ አሜን፡

“Through this blood of Yours, have mercy on ‘Aśratä Wäld your servant, amen”.

2. At Jesus’ feet:

በእንተ፡ ቅንዋተ፡ አዕጋሪክ፡ መሀረኒ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ቴዮጎሎስ፡

“For the sake of the nails of your feet³⁸ have mercy on me, your servant Teyogolos”.

3. Above Mary:

ማርያም፡ በእንተ፡ አንብኢ፡ ንስእዮ፡ አስራት፡ ለአስራተ፡ ወልድ፡ ገብርኢ፡ አሜን፡

“O, Mary! Because of your tears, receive (as) the tithe ‘Aśratä Wäld your servant, amen”.

4. Above John:

ኦዮሐንስ፡ ንስእ፡ አስራተ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ቴዮጎሎስ፡

“O, John! Receive the tithe on behalf of your servant Teyogolos”.

Right-hand panel, middle: Saints Gäbrä Krastos, Qirqos, Kiros

1. Inside Gäbrä Krastos’ halo:

³⁶ “Father” - title used to address the ecclesiastics.

³⁷ Most probably here “the tithe” makes allusion the donation of the painting.

³⁸ By using ‘nails’ (in the plural) the inscription follows a standard formula that contradicts the picture, which, in accordance to the current iconographical type, shows Christ’s feet nailed by a single nail.

ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ንስእ፡ አስራተ፡ በዓለም፡ ሐዲስ፡ ለአስራተ፡ ወልድ፡

“O, Gäbrä Krastos! Receive ‘Aśratä Wäld in the New World (as) the tithe”.

2. Inside Qirqos’ halo:

ቂርቆስ፡ ሕፃን፡ ንስእ፡ አስራተ፡ ኪዳን፡ በሐዲስ፡ አዝማን፡ ለገብርክ፡ ለአስራተ፡ ወልድ፡

“O, Qirqos the Child! Receive ‘Aśratä Wäld in the New Time (as) the tithe of the Covenant³⁹”.

3. Above Kiros’ halo:

አባ፡ ኪሮስ፡ ስኣል፡ በእንተ፡ አስራተ፡ ወልድ፡

“O, *abba* Kiros! Intercede on behalf of ‘Aśratä Wäld”.

Right-hand panel: bottom, St. George

ጊዮርጊስ፡ ሰማእተ፡ ዋሕድ፡ ንሳእ፡ አስራተ፡ በግርምት፡ አውድ፡ ለገብርክ፡ አስራተ፡ ወልድ፡

“O, George, the unique martyr! Take your servant ‘Aśratä Wäld as a tithe ‘Aśratä into the splendid circle⁴⁰”.

In most cases the inscriptions that appear in Ethiopian paintings on wood identify the scenes and figures ⁴¹ and only occasionally before the 18th century are invocations on behalf of a donor and his name added.⁴² In our triptych, however, there are several identifications that are developed into longer texts, some of them composed in original way. The main purpose of the prayers is to plead for protection. They are not mechanically repeated but vary from figure to figure, alluding to the characteristics of each. They also gave the author an opportunity to write the poetic and at the same time scholarly verses, inspired by a reading of the sacred texts, as well as perhaps by the contemplation of the holy images.

The prayers to the Holy Trinity contain a paraphrase of a psalm on one side and a multifaceted likeness on the other: “one bowl for God” refers most probably to the biblical “one silver sprinkling bowl”, which was brought as an offering at the dedication of the Tabernacle set up by Moses,

³⁹ To be understood as “the tithe for the sake of the Covenant”, see n. 35.

⁴⁰ Probably a poetic expression for Heaven.

⁴¹ The largest repertory of such the painting can to be found in: Chojnacki, *Icons*. See also n. 15.

⁴² See Chojnacki, *Icons*, nos 78, 161, 181, 199, 274.

just as the triptych was brought by the donors to the church and offered as a *votum*. The luminous circle to which they hope to be raised, also mentioned in the invocation to St. George, is probably an allusion to the text of *Revelation* that describes the setting of God's throne. It is also depicted on the central panel with great use of emerald green, a choice that does not seem to be a pure coincidence.⁴³

Whereas the prayer to Mary and Jesus belong to standard invocations, the texts accompanying Michael and Gabriel do not. The archangels are conceived here less as the most important leaders of the angelical hosts than as guardian angels and as deliverers. The donors ask Gabriel to protect them from downfall and meekly plead to find shelter under the tip of Michael's wing. It is very possible that the latter entreaty derives from the text telling how Michael dipped his wing in the fire of Hell, allowing the souls of the sinners to climb up and escape final condemnation.⁴⁴

The supplications to Täklä Haymanot and St. Qirqos each contain a literary figure using the word "tithe" (Eth. *ʿaśrat*), which also happens to be part of the main donor's name. It can be taken for granted that its repetition in several other invocations had the same purpose – to make a connection to this suppliant, elevating his name and thereby accentuating his importance.

Among the prayers appearing in the Crucifixion scene, one invokes the nails of the cross. In Christian spiritual culture these famous relics of the *arma Christi* were always considered to be a powerful means of protection.⁴⁵ Ethiopia was not an exception: the nails were supplied with names that are found in several prayers and were also used in a purely apotropaic context (for instance written in the protective scrolls).⁴⁶

Having learned this much about the painting, we may now try to guess who the donors were. Although their names occur without any titles we may surmise that they were ecclesiastics and most probably monks. One indication is the choice of the depicted saints which very much focuses on monastic figures. Thus we have St. Alexius who incorporates all monastic virtues; St. Kiro, a Coptic hermit-monk, known from his successful battles with the evil spirits; and the two most important founders of Ethiopian monasticism, one from abroad (Libanos) and one local (Täklä Haymanot).

The presence of the Trinity in the central panel is also significant. It is doubtful that this subject would be the first option of a layman donor, particularly at the time when the Trinitarian disputes took place among the ec-

⁴³ Cf. Rev. 4:3-5.

⁴⁴ ድርሳነ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ግእዝና፡ አማርኛ፡ አዲስ፡ አበባ፡ *Dərsanä Mikaʿel, Gəʿəzənnā Amarəñña*, Addis Abāba, 1989 [A.M = 1982 AD], p. 410.

⁴⁵ Along with the Wood of the Holy Cross, see for instance S. Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found*, Stockholm 1991, pp. 46ff.

⁴⁶ *ʿasmatä qənnəwatä mäsqäl*, J. Schwartz, "À propos du carré sator chez les éthiopiens", *Annales d'Ethiopie* 2 (1957), 220-23; W. Staude, "Le cinq clous du Christ et l'icône impériale éthiopienne", *Ethnographische Zeitschrift* 1 (1971), 5-25.

clesiastics and when the iconographical formula was new and difficult to understand for the uninitiated.

The names of the donors also point towards their monastic affiliation because they are of a kind that only appear among ecclesiastics. Moreover the uniqueness of the names can be explained by a custom of the Ethiopian church according to which the abbots or monastic hierarchs changed their names to unusual ones after their appointment.⁴⁷

The donors were also educated persons. As the inscriptions prove, they had a good knowledge of Scripture and were skilled in church poetry. The un-calligraphic nature of the script and the rather freestyle writing suggest that the texts were added by the donors themselves: if the task was commissioned to a triptych maker the inscriptions would have been made with much more care. Also the whole concept of turning a painting into an open prayer book and all the figures into intercessors by adding supplications to each of them indicates a well thought-out project. The donors were professionals who issued for themselves an effective and well designed ticket to eternal life.

⁴⁷ The information provided by *liqä ḥaruyan qäsis* Alemnew Azene.

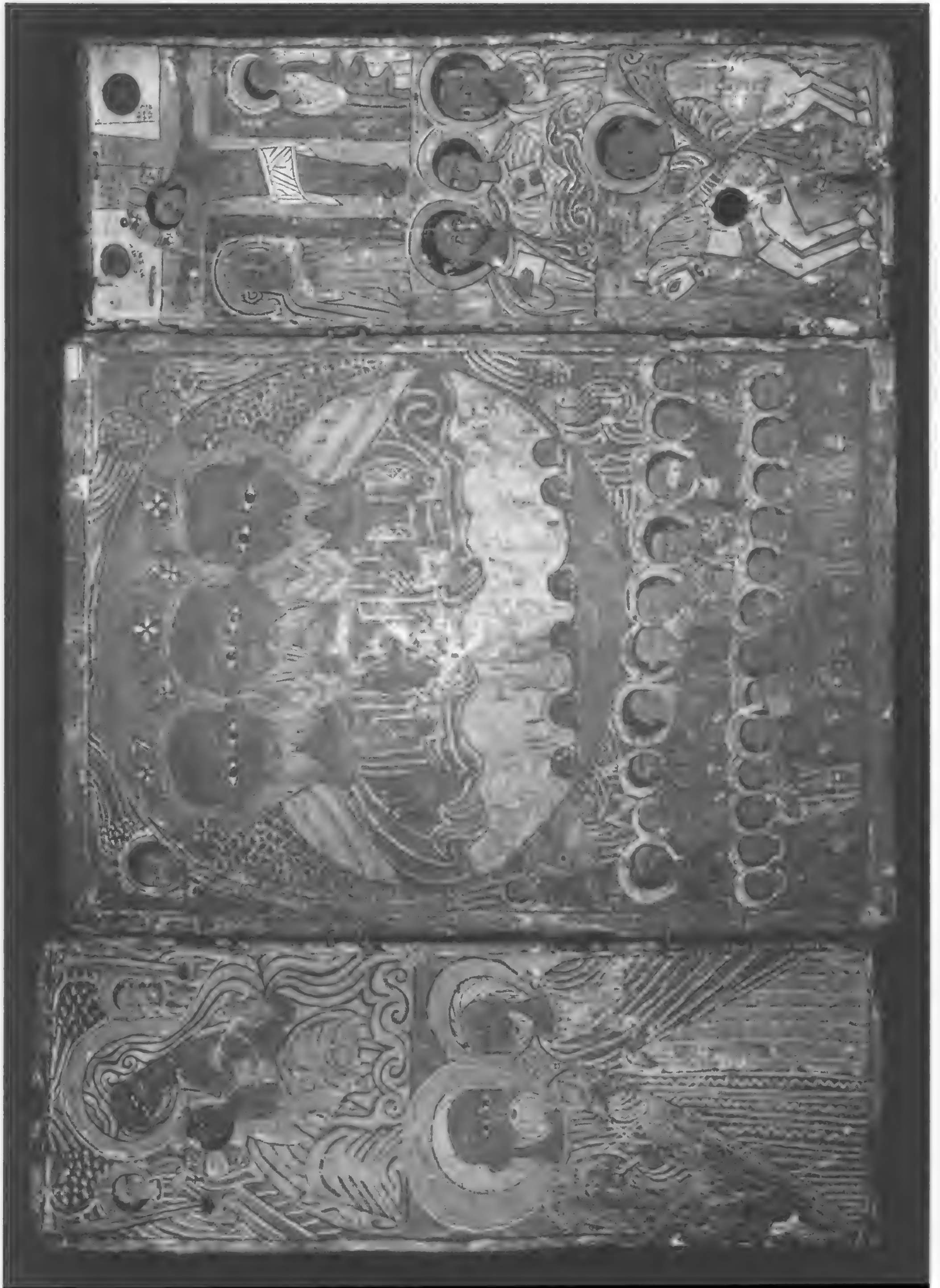


Fig. 1 Triptych, Church of Yəmrəhannä Krəstos



Fig. 2 Triptych, Church of Yəmrehannä Krəstos, seen from back

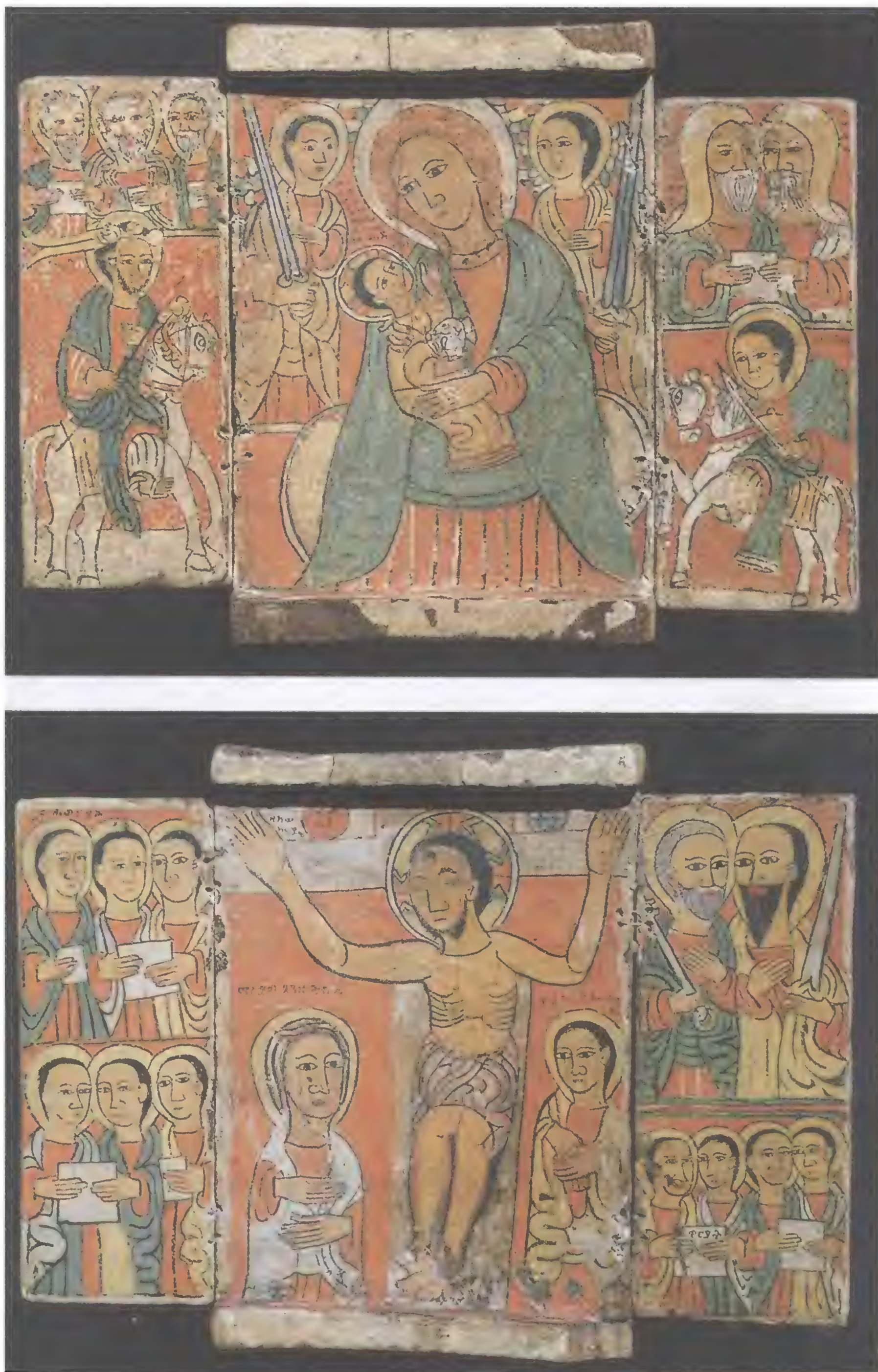


Fig. 3 Triptych, Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies nr. 3450

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The Particle πλήν from LXX to NT

Jerker Blomqvist

This is a study of a minor linguistic detail, but a detail that belongs to a wider context and illustrates a phenomenon typical of Biblical Greek. The study focuses on a particular usage of the particle πλήν, which establishes itself in LXX as a result of the translation technique applied there. I will try to show that the same usage of πλήν is attested also in NT and that, consequently, it could be classified as a feature belonging to the ‘Septuagintal’ or ‘synagogal’ variety of Greek, which is identifiable in the text corpus to which LXX and NT belong.¹ Thus, we will maintain that in LXX and NT there are instances of a usage of πλήν that is practically unknown to extra-Biblical Greek.

In order to be able to distinguish that Biblical usage clearly from what is normal in extra-Biblical texts, it is necessary, first, to sketch the development of πλήν from its earliest appearances up to the time of LXX and NT.²

When πλήν appears for the first time in the earliest Greek texts, it is a preposition with genitive, meaning ‘except’. From the mid-fifth century onwards not only the genitive but also other cases may follow a πλήν with the meaning ‘except’. Syntactically, in such cases, πλήν is not a preposition but could, somewhat loosely, be classified as an adverb. In this non-prepositional function πλήν is followed not only by nouns but also by infinitives, preposition phrases, subordinated clauses and even by main clauses.

¹ On the linguistic milieu of the Hellenized synagogue cf. Albert Wifstrand, “Stylistic Problems in the Epistles of James and Peter”, in *idem, Epochs and Styles*. Ed. by Lars Rydbeck, Stanley E. Porter & Denis Searby [Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 179] (Tübingen, 2005), 55–58. On the position of this variety in the sociolinguistic area of ancient Greek cf. Georg Walser, *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue. An Investigation on the Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* [Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 8] (Stockholm, 2001), *idem*, “The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue”, in *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins until 200 C.E.* Ed. by Birger Olsson & Magnus Zetterholm [Coniectanea Biblica. New Testament series, 39] (Stockholm, 2003), 260–270, Jerker Blomqvist, “The Languages of the Synagogue: an Evaluation”, *ibid.*, 303–311.

² A short survey of the development appears in Eduard Schwyzer & Albert Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik. II. Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik* [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II.1.2] (Munich, 1950), 542–543; in greater detail and with focus on connective πλήν, in Jerker Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose* (Lund, 1969), 77–80.

Already in the classical period *πλήν* with a main clause may appear in contexts where it can only be meant to function as a coordinator, for example:

[1] συγγνωστὰ μὲν σοι, πλήν ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις
κακοῖσι χαίρειν, ὧ γυναιῖκες, οὐ καλόν. (Euripides, *Bacchae* 1038–1039)
You may be forgiven, but it is not good to rejoice
at troubles that have actually taken place, women.³

The first clause contains the preparatory⁴ particle *μὲν*, which corresponds with the *πλήν* that introduces the second clause. This indicates that the clause introduced by *πλήν* is syntactically equivalent to the main clause *συγγνωστὰ σοι* [ἐστιν]; two main clauses are coordinated, and *πλήν* functions as a connective particle. It could have been supplanted with *δέ*, which is the most common connective particle to correspond with preparatory *μὲν*. The usage of *πλήν* as a connective particle becomes more frequent in the Hellenistic period.⁵

Semantically, the connective particle *πλήν* is mostly adversative. Greek adversatives may denote three different types of adversativity, *eliminative*, *balancing* and *modifying*. The Greek language has distinct lexical expressions for each of these categories (even if the distinctions are not always unambiguous). Other languages may have only one (dominating) adversative coordinator, as English (*but*) or Danish (*men*), and others are content with two, as Swedish (*men* and *utan*) and German (*aber* and *sondern*); of these, *utan* and *sondern* are eliminative, as Greek *ἀλλά*, whereas *men* and *aber* serve in both balancing and modifying contexts.

The concepts of balancing and eliminative adversativity were defined by Denniston,⁶ whereas modifying adversative particles were identified later on.⁷ Since *πλήν* is mainly used as a modifying adversative, it is motivated to quote a few sentences [2]–[4] that illustrate modifying adversative coordination with *πλήν* or *μήν* preceded by the negative *οὐ* and with various equivalents in the modern languages:

³ The translations of the Greek passages are my own, although sometimes inspired by others.

⁴ On the terminology used here ('connective', 'adversative', 'preparatory', 'corresponding', etc.), cf. J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*. Second edition (Oxford, 1954 [1959]), xxxvii–l. On the subdivisions of adversative particles, cf. below.

⁵ Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, 75–77, 80–90, and (on LXX in particular) 92–100. Cf. also Juan Ignacio González Merino, "Las partículas en Menandro", *Estudios clásicos* 25 (Madrid, 1981–1983), 172–173.

⁶ Denniston, xlix.

⁷ Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, 21; Blomqvist, "On Adversative Coordination in Ancient Greek and as a Universal Linguistic Phenomenon", *Acta Societatis linguisticae Upsaliensis*, nova series, 3:2 (1981), 57–70; Blomqvist & Jastrup, *Grekisk-Græsk grammatik*. 3rd ed. (Copenhagen, 2006), § 300:3.

[2] καλοί εἰσιν, πλήν οὐ πάντες ὁμοίως.

They are handsome but not all of them equally. / *De är vackra, men alla är inte lika vackra.*

[3] καλοί εἰσιν πάντες, πλήν οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον, οἱ δ' ἥττον.

They are all handsome but some of them more, others less. / *De är alla vackra, men somliga mer och andra mindre.*

[4] καλός ἐστιν, οὐ μὲν τὰ ὄμματα γε.

He is handsome, though not his eyes. / *Han är vacker, fast inte hans ögon.*

The distinctive characteristic of modifying adversatives could be described as follows: whereas eliminative and balancing adversatives introduce an antithesis that is opposed to the preceding constituent as a whole, a modifying adversative introduces a constituent that is only a partial antithesis of the preceding one. Consequently, modifying particles are used to introduce corrections and modifications of previous statements and to restrict the applicability of preceding assertions.

As an adversative particle, *πλήν* has primarily a modifying function. This is quite in line with the meaning ‘except (that)’ that we found in the early attestations of *πλήν* as a preposition or an adverb. With that meaning, *πλήν* introduces an exception to what has been previously stated; it restricts the applicability of the previous statement, corrects something that is not entirely correct, or makes an imprecise statement more precise. This is the task of modifying particles, and that is the semantic function most often performed by *πλήν* when used as a connective particle.

With time *πλήν* also develops a balancing function, as already exemplified by the Euripides passage quoted above [1]. This usage appears in Hellenistic Greek, too, but it never becomes quite common. Eliminative *πλήν*, on the other hand, does not exist in Hellenistic Greek at all.⁸ In earlier studies it was maintained that the particle *πλήν* belonged to colloquial Greek and developed there as a substitute for *ἀλλά*.⁹ From this alleged substitution others have concluded that *πλήν*, just like *ἀλλά*, is primarily an eliminative adversative particle. Thrall, for example,¹⁰ considers it possible to identify a signifi-

⁸ Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, 86–87.

⁹ E.g. Antonios N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London, 1897; repr. Hildesheim, 1987), 407, BDR, § 449:1, BDAG, s.v. *πλήν* 1b. On the origin of this misconception cf. John A.L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* [Studies in Biblical Greek, 8] (New York, 2003), 311–315.

¹⁰ E.g. David Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* [Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala, 36:3] (Uppsala, 1943), 33, Margaret E. Thrall,

cant number of eliminative *πλήν*'s in NT. Frid argues convincingly against her interpretations of those passages.¹¹

Besides being a modifying or, sometimes, a balancing adversative, *πλήν* has one more function, viz., as a progressive particle; most other adversative particles develop a progressive function, too. Progressive¹² particles appear at junctions between text units larger than individual clauses and sentences, for example, when the speaker proceeds to a new section of a description, narrative or argument.

In the *Septuagint* *πλήν* is a remarkably frequent word. Except as a preposition, it occurs more than 170 times.¹³ Those usages of *πλήν* in extra-Biblical Greek that we have surveyed in the preceding section, are attested in LXX, too, in particular in those books that were either written in Greek from the beginning or are relatively independent of their Hebrew or Aramaic originals. But in the translated books there also appear usages that are not known from extra-Biblical texts.

In many cases *πλήν* renders one of the Hebrew particles *'ak* (אך) or *raq* (רק). According to Hatch & Redpath, the Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent of *πλήν* can be identified in about 145 passages; among them *'ak* and *raq* account for about 60 cases each. Both these Hebrew words are often used in the sense of 'only', i.e. they are adverbs belonging to an individual word or an individual constituent of the clause. *Πλήν*, in its function as a connective particle, is not tied to an individual constituent or to an individual clause but connects the clause in which it appears to the preceding clause and indicates the semantic relationship between the two clauses. The syntactic function of *πλήν* is totally different from that of *'ak* and *raq* 'only'. In spite of that dif-

Greek Particles in the New Testament [New Testament Tools and Studies, 3] (Leiden, 1962), 21–24.

¹¹ Bo Frid, "A Brief Note on *πλήν* in Roman Times", *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 51–52 (1986–1987), 65–71. Frid even rejects *Lk.* 23.28 θυγατέρες Ἱερουσαλήμ, μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ' ἐμέ, πλήν ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς κλαίετε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, a passage that I was once prepared to accept as a conceivable instance of eliminative *πλήν*, although with grave doubts; cf. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, 87 with n. 39.

¹² On the meaning of this term cf. Denniston, xlvii–xlviii, Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, 22, Blomqvist & Jastrup, § 300:6. On progressive *πλήν* cf. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, 88–90.

¹³ The figure 170 includes 16 cases where *πλήν* introduces a clause in which a substantive in the genitive follows immediately after *πλήν*, as if *πλήν* were a preposition, whereas the syntax of the clause demands the substantive to be in a different case; cf., e.g. *Ex.* 21.19 *πλήν τῆς ἀργίας αὐτοῦ ἀποτεῖσει καὶ τὰ ἰατρῆα* 'but he shall pay for his incapacity and for medical care', where both *τῆς ἀργίας* and *τὰ ἰατρῆα* are objects of *ἀποτεῖσει* and should be in the accusative. The other instances are *Gen.* 14.24, *Ex.* 10.24, *Lev.* 11.36, *Num.* 29.39, *Dt.* 20.14, *Josh.* 6.24, 13.14, *3 Kings* 16.28b, 22.44, *4 Kings* 12.4, 15.4, *Sir.* 22.22 (?), 38.34, 45.13, *Ezk.* 46.17. Cf. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles*, 97–98, Martin Johannesson, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* [Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. 1925. Beiheft] (Berlin, 1925), 343 with n. 2.

ference, the result of the translation can be quite satisfactory. For example, in *Ex.* 9.25–26, *raq* appears in the meaning ‘only’ at the beginning of a sentence.¹⁴ In LXX the passage runs:

[5] ἐπάταξεν δὲ ἡ χάλαζα ἐν πάσῃ γῇ Αἰγύπτου ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους, καὶ πᾶσαν βοτάνην τὴν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπάταξεν ἡ χάλαζα, καὶ πάντα τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις συνέτριψεν ἡ χάλαζα· πλήν ἐν γῇ Γεσεμ, οὗ ἦσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, οὐκ ἐγένετο ἡ χάλαζα.

The hail struck [everything] in the whole land of Egypt, from man to cattle, and every plant in the field the hail struck, and all the trees in the fields the hail destroyed. But [= *πλήν*] in the land of Gesem, where the sons of Israel were, there was no hail.

Thus, the Hebrew adverb *raq* ‘only’ becomes the modifying connective *πλήν* in LXX. Although *raq* and *πλήν* have different meanings and different syntactic functions, the meaning of the passage as a whole is the same in the translation as in the original. When ‘*ak* and *raq* have the meaning ‘only’, the mechanical rendering of the words with *πλήν* may work well: *πλήν* appears with one of its normal, extra-Biblical meanings, and the content of the passage is represented correctly.

However, of the two Hebrew words, ‘*ak* has one more function, viz. as an “affirm[atives] gewiß, ja!” or an “emphasizing *yea, surely*”,¹⁵ and also when ‘*ak* is used with that function, it is often translated with *πλήν*. This is entirely in accordance with the tendency of the LXX translators to render a Hebrew word consistently with the same Greek word everywhere. As a consequence, *πλήν* will appear in contexts where it cannot possibly perform any of the functions the word has in extra-Biblical texts: a peculiar LXX usage has come into existence.¹⁶

¹⁴ The literal *Revised Standard Version* translates the passage in this way: “The hail struck down everything that was in the field throughout all the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and the hail struck down every plant of the field, and shattered every tree of the field. *Only* in the land of Goshen, where the people of Israel were, there was no hail” [my italics].

¹⁵ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Unter verantwortlicher Mitarbeit von Udo Rüterswörden bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Rudolf Meyer und Herbert Donner. 18. Aufl. (Berlin & New York, 1987–) and Ludwig Koehler & Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson (Leiden, 1994–2000), s.v. ‘*ak*. The two lexica seem to derive all other meanings of ‘*ak* from an original function as “emph[atisches] Adv[erb]” and “affirmative emphasizing particle”, respectively.

¹⁶ Thrall, 22–23, observes that *πλήν* in LXX may correspond to a ‘*ak* meaning ‘surely’ or ‘no doubt’. She recognizes this usage in *Judg.* 20.39, *Ps.* 139.14, *Hos.* 12.9, *Zeph.* 3.7, *La.* 3.3 (cf. below [6], [11]–[13]), *4 Kings* 23.35, 24.3, *Ps.* 38.7, 67.22, *Jer.* 12.1. According to Thrall, this LXX usage inspired Luke to use *πλήν* as a “progressive” particle meaning ‘moreover’, ‘and indeed’ or ‘and, what is more’ in *Lk.* 10.14 (cf. below [19]) and 19.27.

The following LXX passages [6]–[17] are in my view clear examples of πλήν being used with the same function as affirmative or emphasizing 'ak.¹⁷

[6] καὶ ἀνέστρεψαν ἀνὴρ Ἰσραηλ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ Βενιαμὴν ἦρκεται τοῦ τύπτειν τραυματίας ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ Ἰσραηλ ὥσεί τριάκοντα ἄνδρας, ὅτι εἶπαν· Πλὴν τροπούμενος τροποῦται ἐναντίον ἡμῶν καθὼς ὁ πόλεμος ὁ ἔμπροσθεν. (*Judg.* 20.39 [*Alexandrinus*])
... for they said: "Surely they are being utterly defeated before us, as [in] the previous battle."

[7] καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἀνέγνω βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ τὸ βιβλίον, διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Μὴ θεὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ θανατῶσαι καὶ ζωοποιῆσαι, ὅτι οὗτος ἀποστέλλει πρὸς με ἀποσυνάξαι ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ; ὅτι πλὴν γινώτε δὴ καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι προφασίζεται οὗτός με. (*4 Kings* 5.7)
.... for, surely, consider and see that this man seeks quarrel with me.

[8] καὶ ὑπέλαβον τοῦ γινῶναι τοῦτο·
κόπος ἐστὶν ἐναντίον μου,
ἕως εἰσελθῶ εἰς τὸ ἁγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ συνῶ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα αὐτῶν.
πλὴν διὰ τὰς δολιότητας ἔθου αὐτοῖς,
κατέβαλες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπαρθῆναι. (*Ps.* 72.18)
And I undertook to understand this; / it is a suffering before me, / until I enter
your sanctuary / and understand [this] up to their end. / Surely, you paid them
according to their deceits, / you threw them down when they had risen.

[9] ὅτι ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου
οἴνου ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος,
καὶ ἔκλινεν ἐκ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο,
πλὴν ὁ τρυγίας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξεκενώθη,
πίονται πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τῆς γῆς. (*Ps.* 74.9)
For there is a cup in the Lord's hand / with unmixed wine and full of a mixed
drink, / and he has inclined it from this side to that. / Surely, its dreg has not
been emptied out, / all the sinners on earth will drink [from it].

[10] ἀκούσομαι τί λαλήσει ἐν ἑμοὶ κύριος ὁ θεός,
ὅτι λαλήσει εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀσίους αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν καρδίαν.
πλὴν ἐγγὺς τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ
τοῦ κατασκηνῶσαι δόξαν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν. (*Ps.* 84.10)

¹⁷ Gesenius and Koehler & Baumgartner cite *4 Kings* 5.7, *Ps.* 72.18, 74.9 and *Hos.* 12.9 as instances of affirmative 'ak; Lust et alii (*A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*) translate πλήν in *Zeph.* 3.7 with 'surely', 'no doubt'.

I will listen to what the Lord God will speak in me, / for he will speak peace to his people / and to his pious ones / and to those who turn their hearts towards him. / Surely, his salvation is close to those who fear him, / so that glory may dwell in our land.

[11] ἔγνων ὅτι ποιήσει κύριος τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ πτωχοῦ καὶ τὴν δίκην τῶν πενήτων.

πλήν δίκαιοι ἐξομολογήσονται τῷ ὀνόματί σου, καὶ κατοικήσουσιν εὐθεῖς σὺν τῷ προσώπῳ σου. (*Ps.* 139.14)

I have realized that the Lord judges the judgement of the beggar / and the right of the poor. / Surely, the righteous will confess to your name, / the upright will dwell with your presence.

[12] καὶ εἶπεν Εφραιμ· Πλήν πεπλούτηκα, εὔρηκα ἀναψυχὴν ἑμαυτῷ. (*Hos.* 12.9)

And Ephraim said: “Surely I am rich, I have found relief for myself.”

[13] εἶπα· Πλήν φοβεῖσθέ με καὶ δέξασθε παιδείαν, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐξολεθρευθῇτε ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς. (*Zeph.* 3.7)

I said: “Surely, fear me and accept my teaching, and you will never be destroyed before its countenance.”

[14] Διήνοιξαν ἐπὶ σὲ στόμα αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἐχθροί σου, ἐσύρισαν καὶ ἔβρυξαν ὀδόντας, εἶπαν· Κατεπίομεν αὐτήν, πλήν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν προσεδοκῶμεν, εὔρομεν αὐτήν, εἶδομεν. (*La.* 2.16)

All your enemies opened their mouth against you, they hissed and gnashed their teeth, they said: “We have swallowed her! Surely this is the day we waited for, we have found it, we have seen [it]!”

[15] Ἐγὼ ἀνὴρ ὁ βλέπων πτωχείαν ἐν ῥάβδῳ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπ’ ἐμέ· παρέλαβέν με καὶ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς σκότος καὶ οὐ φῶς.

πλήν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐπέστρεψεν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν. (*La.* 3.3)

I am a man who sees poverty because of his rod of anger against me; / he took me and led me towards darkness and not towards light. / Surely, against me he turned his hand all the day.

In four of these passages, the position of πλήν makes it impossible to interpret the word as a connective particle. In [6], [12] and [13] πλήν is the first word of an utterance; since there exists no preceding sentence that could be coordinated with the πλήν sentence, the word cannot have a connective function. In [7] πλήν has even been positioned in the interior of a sentence. An affirmative meaning seems to be the only possible option in these cases.

In the other passages πλήν introduces a sentence that contains a confirmation or parallel of the preceding one. In [15], for example, the first two lines describe God’s anger and his severe punishment of the speaker. When the third line states that “against me he turned his hand all the day”, this is just a continuation of the same description. No antithesis is present, so πλήν could not be adversative, and there is no transition to a new theme that could moti-

vate a progressive particle. An affirmative *πλήν*, on the other hand, fits into the context, as does the affirmative *'ak* of the original.

Also in two passages of *1 Macc.*, the Hebrew original of which is no longer extant, *πλήν* is likely to be affirmative. In both cases—most evidently in no [16]—the *πλήν* clause continues pleading the same point:

[16] †καὶ περιεκάθηντο ἐπ' αὐτήν† οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν χάριν τούτου καὶ ἡλλοτριοῦντο ἀφ' ἡμῶν· πλήν ὅσοι εὐρίσκοντο ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἐθανατοῦντο, καὶ αἱ κληρονομίαι ἡμῶν διηρπάζοντο. (*1 Macc.* 6.24)

... the sons of our people because of this, and they became estranged to us. Surely, as many of us as were detected [by them] were put to death, and our inherited possessions were pillaged.

[17] τούτου χάριν ἀπώλοντο οἱ ἀδελφοί μου πάντες χάριν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ, καὶ κατελείφθην ἐγὼ μόνος. καὶ νῦν μή μοι γένοιτο φείσασθαί μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ θλίψεως· οὐ γάρ εἰμι κρείσσων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου. πλήν ἐκδικήσω περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους μου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ὑμῶν. (*1 Macc.* 13.6)

For this reason all my brothers died because of Israel, and I was alone left behind. Now it may never happen that I spare my life in any moment of affliction, for I am no better than my brothers! Surely I shall seek revenge for my people, for the holy places and for your women and children.

It seems safe to conclude that in a number of LXX passages *πλήν* is used in such a way that it cannot be either an adversative or a progressive connective. Since the Hebrew equivalent in these passages is affirmative, the most likely explanation is that the translators ascribed the same function to *πλήν*.

The question now arises whether the same function of *πλήν* can be attested in NT. Here follows a survey of those NT passages that are likely to be relevant, and a discussion of them; the list includes parallel passages which may be of importance for interpreting the individual occurrences of *πλήν*. Traditionally, *πλήν* has mostly been interpreted as adversative in these passages.¹⁸ If an affirmative interpretation is preferred, that may necessitate a reinterpretation of the context as well.¹⁹

[18] Οὐαί σοι, Χοραζίν· οὐαί σοι, Βηθσαϊδά· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν. πλήν λέγω ὑμῖν, Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ ὑμῖν. (*Mt.* 11.22)

¹⁸ On Thrall, 22–23, cf. above, n. 16. BDAG, s.v. *πλήν* 1c, and BDR, § 449:2, cite a number of NT passages where *πλήν* is said to be used for “breaking off a discussion and emphasizing what is important” (*1 Cor.* 11.11, *Eph.* 5.33, *Phil.* 1.18 (?), 3.16, 4.14, *Rv.* 2.25). *Πλήν* may have some sort of emphasizing force here, but the passages have no comparable parallels in the LXX material and will not be discussed here.

¹⁹ I do not add translations of the NT passages, for most readers are likely to be familiar with these texts, and reliable Bible translations are available everywhere.

[19] Οὐαί σοι, Χοραζίν· οὐαί σοι, Βηθσαϊδά· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ καθήμενοι μετενόησαν. πλὴν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἢ ὑμῖν. (*Lk.* 10.14).

[20] καὶ σύ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως ἄδου καταβήσῃ. ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν σοί, ἔμεινεν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι γῇ Σοδόμων ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ σοί. (*Mt.* 11.24)

[21] καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ δέξηται ὑμᾶς μηδὲ ἀκούσῃ τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν, ἐξερχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἐκτινάξατε τὸν κονιορτὸν [ἐκ] τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται γῇ Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ. (*Mt.* 10.15)

Nos. [18]–[20] are structurally identical: a cry of woe over one or two Galilean towns is followed by a comparison with towns in Lebanon or with Sodom, and Jesus asserts that the non-Galilean towns would have reacted to his miracles in a more commendable way. The concluding sentence, the one introduced by *πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν*, declares that these towns will be treated with more mercy on judgement day. This is a consequence of their conduct; there is no antithesis between their conduct and their treatment, so *πλήν* cannot be adversative. Nor is it progressive, for no new element is introduced.

The most plausible explanation is that *πλήν* is meant to have the same affirmative meaning as *ἀμὴν* in the parallel [21], which expresses the same idea as [18]–[20]: a town refuses to listen to Jesus' message and with *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν*, 'truly, I say to you ...', Jesus asserts that Sodom and Gomorra can expect more mercy than that town.

[22] Καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν κολληθέντα ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀπομασσόμεθα ὑμῖν· πλὴν τοῦτο γινώσκετε ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Σοδόμοις ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ. (*Lk.* 10.11)

In [22] the line of thought is the same as in [21], but Luke inserts a sentence introduced by *πλήν* that is missing in Matthew. There is no antithesis, and progression is not likely. With *πλὴν τοῦτο γινώσκετε*, compare *ὅτι πλὴν γνῶτε* in [7] with a clearly affirmative *πλήν*.

[23] Ὃς δ' ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ, συμφέρει αὐτῷ ἵνα κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικὸς περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης. οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα. πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται. (*Mt.* 18.7)

[24] Ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν· πλὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται. (*Lk.* 17.1)

[25] ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὠρισμένον πορεύεται, πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ παραδίδεται. (*Lk.* 22.22)

[26] ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται. (*Mt.* 26.24)

[27] ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται. (*Mk.* 14.21)

[28] χάριτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ σκιρτήσατε, ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν. πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν. (*Lk.* 6.24)

[29] ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. (*Mt.* 6.2 (\approx 6.5, 6.16))

In [23]–[25] and [28] πλὴν is followed by an οὐαὶ construed with a dative. Traditionally, an antithesis is supposed to be expressed in these passages: two persons or groups of persons are contrasted with each other (the Son of Man and the traitor [25] or “you [disciples]” and “you who are rich” [28]); or else a logical contradiction is pointed out: something must inevitably occur, but the person who triggers it is considered to be responsible for what happens [23]–[25].

As regards [25] it cannot easily be maintained that πλὴν is anything but a balancing adversative. It corresponds with a preparatory μὲν, and the parallels [26] and [27] have a correspondence of μὲν with δέ, the most common balancing adversative particle. This indicates that πλὴν in [25] is a balancing adversative, too, unless Luke’s line of thought was much different from Matthew’s and Mark’s.

There is an antithesis also in [28], between the disciples, who are encouraged to be happy and to dance when they think of the future, and the rich, who will be in trouble. Πλὴν may be adversative and indicate that antithesis, but an affirmative interpretation is not impossible, since the parallels in Matthew [29] have affirmative ἀμὴν’s.

Two passages with πλὴν οὐαὶ remain to be discussed, [23] and [24]. They are superficially similar to [25], but they contain no clear lexical indications that πλὴν is balancing and adversative. The traditional interpretation of *Mt.* 18.7 [23] results in a translation as that of the *Revised Standard Version*: “Woe to the world for temptations to sin! For it is necessary that temptations come, but woe to the man by whom the temptation comes!” On the assumption that πλὴν is affirmative, it would be necessary to restructure the passage with the γάρ clause more closely attached to the preceding and with a full stop after σκάνδαλα (as printed above). The resulting translation will be approximately: “Woe to the world because of the temptations, for temptations must come. Yes, surely, woe to the man by whom the temptation

comes.” With this interpretation the γάρ clause motivates the first cry of woe; since temptations necessarily must come to the world, it is motivated to lament over the world. The second woe will be a parallel to the first and enhances the impression of imminent danger created by the statement that temptations must come.

[24] could be interpreted in a similar way. The assertion “it is inevitable that temptations come” is confirmed by a woe over the one who brings about the temptation. The πλήν clause implies that there exist people who will cause temptations and, consequently, that temptations will actually occur.

[30] καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἵνα ἡμῖν εἴπῃς εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Σὺ εἶπας· πλήν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπ’ ἄρτι ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. (*Mt.* 26.64)

[31] ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν τινες τῶν ᾧδε ἐστώτων οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσονται θανάτου ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. (*Mt.* 16.28)

[32] Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν τινες ᾧδε τῶν ἐστηκότων οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσονται θανάτου ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐληλυθυῖαν ἐν δυνάμει. (*Mk.* 9.1)

[33] πάλιν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. (*Mk.* 14.62)

In [30] nothing in the context prevents interpreting the sentence introduced by πλήν λέγω ὑμῖν as a statement that confirms that Jesus is Messiah and Son of God. It is impossible to construct an antithesis between Jesus being God’s son and his future glory, so πλήν is not adversative. Nor is a progressive function easily conceivable here. The parallel in Mark [33] has only a καί. Antithesis is not indicated there; καί rather indicates a close affinity between the two clauses. In two passages, [31] and [32], in which Jesus speaks about his future glory just as in [30], he uses the clearly affirmative phrase ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν.

[34] Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον. πλήν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης. (*Lk.* 22.21)

[35] καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν εἶπεν· Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με. (*Mt.* 26.21)

[36] καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με, ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμοῦ. (*Mk.* 14.18)

[37] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με. (*John* 13.21)

There is no clear antithesis present in [34], so *πλήν* is unlikely to be adversative. A progressive function is a more plausible alternative. However, also affirmative *πλήν* is a possibility. If this is the case, Jesus asserts that his blood will be poured out or is being poured out and as a confirmation of this assertion he adds that the one who will betray him is actually present. The affirmative particle is an appropriate way of opening that startling statement. The parallels in the other gospels all have the affirmative *ἀμήν* or even *ἀμὴν ἀμήν* [35]–[37]; this is a good argument for interpreting *πλήν* as affirmative in [34].

Our survey of the NT passages could be summarized as follows. There are strong reasons to interpret *πλήν* as an affirmative particle in [18]–[20], in [22] and in [30]. In these contexts there exists no antithesis, which could motivate an adversative *πλήν*, and a progressive interpretation is not plausible either. It is also possible to find parallels in NT with affirmative *ἀμήν* or, in one case [22], a comparable LXX passage [7] with a clearly affirmative *πλήν*. Thus, in these passages both the immediate context and the parallels support the affirmative interpretation.

In the other passages that we have discussed, the affirmative interpretation is also defensible, even if the evidence is less cogent. In [34] there is no support for an adversative or a progressive interpretation. The context makes it possible to interpret *πλήν* as affirmative, and parallels with affirmative *ἀμήν* support that interpretation. However, if *πλήν* is affirmative, we must interpret the relationships between the involved sentences differently from what is generally accepted. In [28] there is an antithesis present that could motivate an adversative *πλήν*, but the parallel [29] has affirmative *ἀμήν*.

The weakest support for an affirmative interpretation appears in [23]–[25]. In [25] the preparatory *μέν* strongly indicates that *πλήν* should be regarded as a balancing adversative particle. Consequently, it is not very likely that *πλήν* should be interpreted as affirmative in the parallels [23] and [24] either, although the contexts do not contradict that interpretation.

This survey of the Biblical material leads up to the conclusion that the usage of *πλήν* as an affirmative particle, which was introduced by the LXX translators, was known to at least some of the NT writers and was sometimes utilized in the gospels, in particular in Luke, where influence from LXX is most evident. The usage was a feature of what we call Septuagintal or synagogal Greek, which was one of the varieties of Greek that the NT writers

were familiar with and could make use of when subject matter or literary conventions were thought to motivate it.

At least one further question arises: Was this originally Septuagintal usage adopted not only by the NT writers but also by later Christian authors, who were influenced by NT? On the whole, I would be inclined to answer that question in the negative, but I have not checked every *πλήν* in the late-antiquity and Byzantine texts. In any case, there seem to be very few, if any, incontestable attestations of affirmative *πλήν* after NT.

As a test case we may choose the phrase *πλήν λέγω (σοι/ὑμῖν)*. Matthew uses it in three passages where the particle probably has an affirmative function (11.22, 11.24, 26.64 = [18], [20], [30]). In the TLG material the same phrase reappears c. 12 times (not counting quotations from Matthew). An illustrative example occurs in the pseudepigraphon *Vita Adam et Evae*, sect. 39, where God, speaking to Adam, introduces his affirmative promise of future bliss with *πλήν οὖν λέγω σοι ὅτι κτλ.* Here *πλήν* is probably not just a connective, since it is accompanied by the clearly connective *οὖν*. A similar case (but with no additional particle appended to *πλήν*) is Euagrius Ponticus, *Rerum monachalium rationes* 40.1257.19–24 PG, where the speaker first gives his interlocutor the advice *δός σου ἐπὶ ξεντείαν τὴν πρόθεσιν* ‘turn your plans towards living abroad’ and then, after just a few lines, repeats the same advice in other words as if to insist on its importance: *πλήν λέγω σοι, ξεντείαν ἀγάπα* ‘Yea, I tell you, be content with living abroad.’ Since this sentence repeats same advice once again, neither a new point nor an antithesis is introduced by it, so *πλήν* is neither progressive nor adversative. Evidently, there is an element of affirmation or insistence present in these passages, but the affirmation may be conveyed by the phrase as a whole and not by the particle alone.

In the Biblical material discussed above we found two passages where an arguably affirmative *πλήν* is coupled with the imperative of a verb meaning ‘to know’, viz., *4 Kings* 5.7 (= [7]; *γνῶτε*) and *Lk.* 10.11 (= [22]; *γινώσκετε*). A search in the TLG yields a number of hits for *πλήν* with the imperative of the synonymous verb *οἶδα*.²⁰ By coincidence, one example occurs in a text edited by the learned Byzantinologist in whose honour this volume has been published.²¹ In this passage, we are told that the holy man Eugenios once appeared in a vision to a priest. The priest asked him: Ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυς Εὐγένιος, ὁ καὶ πέρυσιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ὥρᾳ ἦκων ἡμῖν;

²⁰ There are 48 occurrences of *πλήν ἴσθι*, two of *πλήν ἴστε* and also 40 of *πλήν ἰστέον*. A majority of the passages are stereotype and fairly irrelevant in this context.

²¹ Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *The Hagiographic Dossier of St Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154* [Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 5] (Uppsala, 1996), 280 (Lazaropoulos’ *Synopsis*, l. 639). Rosenqvist’s translation does not make it clear how he understands the particle’s function.

‘Are you Christ’s martyr Eugenios who visited us at the time of harvest last year?’ Eugenios answered ‘Yes’, and then continued *πλήν ἴσθι, πρεσβύτερε, ὥς κτλ.*, entering on an explanation that aimed at corroborating his answer. There is an affirmative tone present here, too, but, just as in the cases with *πλήν λέγω*, it is not clear whether it is only the particle or the whole clause that serves the purpose.

Without further investigations, we must be content to conclude that, in the post-Biblical texts, *πλήν* appears in contexts where an affirmative function is present, although it is not evident how much of the affirmative meaning the particle itself carries.

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Canonization and Politics in Post-Soviet Russia

Per-Arne Bodin

In the past two decades canonizations have become more important than ever before in the Russian Orthodox Church. The most numerous ones concern the so-called new martyrs, that is, an extremely large group of saints who have been canonized because they suffered and died for their faith during the Soviet era.¹ Another and different group of new saints is historical figures such as the icon painter Andrej Rublev (15th century) and Paisij Veličkovskij, who rediscovered the inner contemplative piety known as hesychasm in the 18th century. These canonizations have been on the agenda but could not be carried out earlier because of persecutions of the Church during the Soviet era. Some of them were already completed in the last years of the existence of Soviet Union.

In this stream of new saints, a number of figures have also appeared who are famous in Russian history and have assumed a saintly or pseudo-saintly status – Fedor Ušakov, for example, or Ivan the Terrible, or even Joseph Stalin. Newly painted icons with their images have been produced, as have hagiographic and hymnographic texts devoted to them. Another group of canonizations has to do with the traumatic contemporary historical events of Černobyl' and Beslan. Only the first example given here, that is Fedor Ušakov has been fully authorized by the Church. In this paper I will present some concrete examples of hagiographic, hymnographic and iconographic materials in an effort to determine the relationship between discussions and realizations of canonizations and various phenomena pertaining exclusively to modern conditions, such as the present political and cultural situation in Russia. I will study how these canonizations reflect the political and cultural situation in the country and also how they are used for different purposes. The focus is on the best-known cases.

¹ In my book *Eternity and Time. Studies in Russian Literature and the Orthodox Tradition* (Stockholm, 2007) I have devoted a chapter (pp. 231–250) to this issue.

NEW MARTYRS

The majority of the saints that have been canonized are the new martyrs. All told, this is a large group, some 2000 people – more than all the saints canonized up to that point in Russian church history. Best-known on the new list are the Tsar's family and the Tsaritsa's sister Elizaveta Fedorovna. Other examples are Metropolitan Veniamin of Petrograd who was executed in 1922 and Metropolitan Petr shot in 1937.² Apart from the establishment of new feast days for individual martyrs and groups of martyrs, a large feast day at the end of January known as *The Gathering of New Martyrs* has been launched in memory of all Orthodox Christians who suffered during the Soviet period. The whole Russian church calendar has changed due to all these new martyr days. For all these saints *vitae* texts have been written. Icons are being painted and liturgical texts in Church Slavonic are being composed for these new martyrs. The same artistic principles found in medieval times are used to describe the Soviet reality of the Gulag. Church Slavonic has not been so actively used for writing new hymnographic texts for hundreds of years.

The canonizations of the new martyrs is part of the Orthodox Church's settling with the Soviet past, and I maintain that it is the most important instance of it in Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union. For example, there is an impressive multi-volume collection of martyrs' lives compiled by Archimandrite Damaskin that documents holiness in Soviet times.³ This coming to terms with the past, however, involves almost no self-reflection, for it has given rise to almost no consideration to actions of the Church itself and its own responsibility in that era.

The evil forces in all these texts are the Soviet regime and Marxist or pseudo-Marxist ideology, the adherents of which are called "the godless grandchildren of Cain". The geographic space for the holy deeds is Holy Rus, and its opposite is the almost never directly mentioned Soviet Union. These canonizations were thus a mirror of important trends in Russian thought in the 1990s. Their deaths were not in vain, and in this sense the phenomenon of new martyrs is one of the strategies for giving Soviet history meaning. The loss of life in the war of millions of Soviet citizens could be explained as needed to save the country, but it is more difficult to make sense out of death in a Soviet concentration camp. The canonizations give these deaths a sacral meaning. These declarations of sanctity thus become an important part of contemporary memory-making in Post-Soviet Russia.

² Bodin, *op. cit.*, 231–250.

³ Damaskin (Orlovskij), Ieromonach, *Mučeniki, ispovedniki i podvižniki blagočestija Russkoj pravoslavnoj Cerkvi XX stoletija. Žizneopisanija i materialy k nim*, kniga 1 – 7, (Tver', 1992 - 2002).

FEDOR UŠAKOV



In quite another spirit, Fedor Ušakov, one of Catherine the Great's admirals known mainly for his victory over the Turks but also for having won numerous naval battles against the French, was declared a saint in 2000.⁴ This year marks the end of the mass canonizations of new martyrs and the beginning of a close cooperation between church and state as part of the politics of the new president Vladimir Putin. The canonization of Ušakov is a good example of this change. Festivities were held in connection with the canonization, an icon was

painted of him, *vita* texts or *vita*-like texts and *Akathistos* hymns were composed for him.

In this case we have a military leader of importance to the Russian state who, according to the *vita*, was also very pious. Although Fedor Ušakov is actually considered to have tried to lead a pious life especially in his later days, it is nonetheless mainly his military exploits that are stressed. This emphasis was in fact criticized even by one of the members of the canonization commission, Georgij Mitrofanov of St. Petersburg Theological Academy, who ironically notes that there is a weakness today for saints who support the Russian state:

Действительно, нам очень симпатичны те святые, которые в основу своей жизни полагали служение великой державе.⁵

Indeed, we look very favourably upon those saints who have based their lives on service to the great power.

The canonization of Fedor Ušakov shows another trend in the development of the Russian Orthodox Church different from the declaration of sanctity of the new martyrs. It indicates a church close to the political power as well as a patriotic meta-ideology focused on regaining Russia's role as a

⁴ The material and some of the ideas in this chapter go back to my recent book *Language, Canonization and Holy Foolishness. Studies in Postsoviet Russian Culture and the Orthodox Tradition* (Stockholm, 2009).

⁵ Protoirej Georgij Mitrofanov, "Problemy sovremennoj cerkovnoj žizni v kontekste kanonizacii svjatykh", *Svet Pravoslavia*, http://www.reshma.nov.ru/texts/mitrofa-nov_kanonizatsia_sviat.htm, 23-06-2010.

superpower. Some lines from the *Akathistos* to Fedor demonstrate this juxtaposition of holiness and military skill. Ušakov is both a military leader and a leader of the angelic host – a fact stressed by the use of the title *archistrategos* applied traditionally both to the Archangel Michael as leader of the angelic host and to Byzantine generals.

Радуйся, праведный флотоводче Феодоре, славный Архистратиже Херсонского края.⁶

Rejoice, righteous leader of the fleet Fedor, glorious Archistrategos of the Cherson land.

This is indeed memory-making of quite a different sort than in the case of the new martyrs: memory-making in the interest of a strong state.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE



Thus Fedor Ušakov has been officially canonized, but efforts by marginal and extreme groups within the Orthodox Church to canonize Tsar Ivan the Terrible have not yet been successful and probably never will be. They use a similar line of argument, however, pushing forward the canonization on the basis of his merits in promoting the development of Russia as an empire. One initiator of this very special rehabilitation was a senior official representative of the Church, the late Metropolitan of St. Petersburg Ioann, who dedicated to Tsar Ivan a substantial part of his book on the history of the Russian church, *The Autocracy of Spirit*.

*Studies in Russian Self-consciousness, Samoderžavie Ducha. Očerki russkogo samosoznaniij.*⁷

The attempt to canonize Ivan is highly provocative due to the fact that he is usually seen by the Church and in ordinary historiography as not only a

⁶ “Akafist svjatomu pravednomu voinu i flotovodcu Feodoru Sanaksarskomu (Ušakovu)”, Boguslava, http://boguslava.in.ua/?ch=akafist&sub=my&content=06_ak_feodor_sanak.txt, 25-06-2008.

⁷ Mitropolit Sankt-Peterburgskij i Ladožskij Ioann, *Samoderžavie ducha: Očerki russkogo samosoznaniija*, Izd. “Carskoe Delo”, Sankt-Peterburg 1997, *Russkoe nebo*, <http://russky.com/history/library/samoderj.htm>, 23-06-2010.

tyrant but also a persecutor of the Church. The charges presented in official histories are indeed formidable: the murder of his own son; the murders of the leader of the Church, Metropolitan Philip, and Hegumen Kornilij of the Cave Monastery near Pskov. Other charges concern his seven marriages, the Church allowing – and only in very special cases – three, and the despotic rule that he allegedly imposed with the aid of his bodyguards, the *opričniki*. The metropolitan Ioann and other defenders of Ivan declare that he is innocent of all these crimes. Presenting various kinds of evidence they argue that these accusations represent slander on the part of the enemies of Russia or mistakes in the interpretation of the historical sources. Ivan's alleged madness is not commented on at all. It is also said that there are indications he was poisoned, which, in other words, would make him a martyr. It is impossible to comment on, confirm or deny all the facts in this counter-history. What they demonstrate is a highly conspiratorial way of thinking characteristic of Russian popular political discourse. What was important for Metropolitan Ioann and remains important for his successors is that Ivan was the first real tsar in Russia and that he was anointed. The *opričniki* are compared to the angelic host in one of the liturgical hymns, an *Akathistos* composed for him:

Радуйся, дружину опричную по образу ангельского воинства последних времен из слуг верных создавый.⁸

Rejoice, thou who from faithful servants created the *opričnina* according to the image of the angelic host of the Final Time.

Thus both the canonization of Fedor Ušakov and the attempts to make Ivan the Terrible a saint are based on their importance in the formation of the Russian state. The difference is that Ivan is not included as such in the pleiad of canonized Orthodox rulers, quite the contrary. His candidature is supported by imperialistic and marginalized groups in the country for which the glory of the empire is much more important than the alleged murder of churchmen such as the leader of the Church, Metropolitan Philip. The late Patriarch Alexij II commented on these attempts with indignation, noting that in this way both the victim and the murderer would be canonized.⁹ The geographic space is not Holy Rus in this case but the Russian Empire.

These canonizations belong to a counter-discourse (to use the terminology of Foucault) in contemporary Russian society: a longing for a strong totalitarian and anti-Western Russia – a longing on the part of

⁸ “Akafist pokajannyj Svjatomu Blagovernomu Carju-Mučeniku Ioannu Groznomu, za veru pravoslavnuju so srodnikami ubiennomu i oklevetannomu”, *Russkie idut*, <http://russkie-idut.ru/akafist/akafist04.htm>, 23-06-2010.

⁹ “Svjatejšij patriarch otverg vozmožnost' kanonizacii Ivana Groznogo i Grigorija Rasputina”, *Pravoslavie.Ru*, <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/news/030120/02.htm>, 23-06-2010.

extremists but still not so far from the official discourse around Fedor Ušakov, for example. The hagiographic discourse on Ivan is so extreme that it shares some similarities with the mock-discourse on his time in the contemporary Russian author Vladimir Sorokin's novel *Day of an Oprichnik* (*Den' oprichnika*) which depicts a future Russia ruled in the same way as Ivan ruled his country in the 16th century. This is one of the most enigmatic phenomena in these pseudo-canonizations, where it is almost impossible to determine whether we are dealing with a serious hagiographic discourse or a mock discourse making fun of the genre and the phenomenon in general.

In the case of the new martyrs the secular power is demonized, but in these cases the same power is more or less sacralized. The canonization of Fedor Ušakov and the pseudo-canonization of Ivan the Terrible form part of the rehabilitation of a strong political power which has been going on in the public discourse in Russia over the last ten years.

EVGENY RODIONOV



The wars in Čečnja (the first in 1994-1996 and the second beginning in 1999) have been a traumatic experience for both the inhabitants of that republic and for the Russians. From the Russian perspective, one of the most discussed cases in connection with these wars has been the death of one soldier, Evgeny Rodionov. He was killed in 1996 after having been taken prisoner while guarding a border checkpoint, allegedly because he refused to become a Muslim and take off the cross he wore around his neck.

The story of Evgeny's death has been narrated and commented on in the mass media and is widely known across Russia in three different ways. First it turns up in war-hero discourse, when he is compared with the soldier Foma Danilov – a Russian soldier killed in Turkmenia in 1875 under similar circumstances: “Подвиг Евгения Родионова в наше время подобен подвигу воина Фомы”¹⁰, (“The feat of Evgeny Rodionov in our time is similar to the feat of the soldier Foma”). The story of Foma became famous because it was related by Dostoevskij in his *Diary of a Writer*.¹¹ Second the

¹⁰ V. Azarov, “Mučenik Žen'ka”, *Voenno-promyšlennyj kur'er*, [http://www. Rustrana.ru/article.php?nid=29238](http://www.Rustrana.ru/article.php?nid=29238), 01-07-2008.

¹¹ Fedor Michajlovič Dostoevskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, t. 25, *Dnevnik pisatelja za 1877 god: janvar'–avgust* (Leningrad, 1983), 12–16.

discourse of the soldier's mother is used in a narrative telling of the atrocities of the Russian armed forces against Evgeny, and the efforts of his mother to bring the dead body of her son back home and to protect his memory. The Russian military is here seen as an enemy, perhaps not as much as the Čečens but an enemy nonetheless. Finally, there is a hagiographic discourse. These discourses use different fragments of memories, and thus the death of the young man is remembered in three different ways.

Many texts and icons are modelled on an Orthodox hagiographic discourse.¹² Indeed, the key point in this discourse is the moment when Evgeny refuses to take off his cross. In the hymnographical texts he utters these solemn words to his foes, here called the Hagarites, which was the usual name for Muslims in Church Slavonic:

Хотяще зверонравному мучителю льстивыми словесы отвратити тя, прехвальный Евгение, от Бога Истиннаго и в зловерие агарянское тя соблазнити, мужественне противостоял еси, глаголя: «не изменю веры моя в Иисуса Христа, Бога Моего, Ему же со Отцем и Святым Духом присно пою и во веки пети буду: «Аллилуйя!»».¹³

With fawning words, the beastlike tormentor wanted to estrange you, most glorified Evgeny from the true God, and tempt you with the evil faith of the Hagarites, but bravely did you resist, saying: "I will not change my faith in Jesus Christ, my God, and I will forever sing to him and to the Father and to the Holy Spirit and forever I will sing: Alleluia".

Speaking of Evgeny Rodionov, the situation is complicated by the fact that the memories are mediated through the mass media and the Russian Orthodox Church. Evgeny himself did not leave behind any texts except for some letters and a poem to his mother. His mother Ljubov' has not written anything herself, either; she has only expressed herself to journalists. Because they come from two sources with such a strong formative capacity, the social framework becomes even more significant, and the "real memories" and the "real events" recede further into the background than is usual in memory discourse production.

Official memory-making has no use for Evgeny. Perhaps there is no need for a soldier hero in Russia today, and the critical attitude expressed in the discourse of the soldier's mother is a nuisance to the political establishment.

¹² For the form and content of Byzantine *vitae* in general, see Sergei Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine saint. University of Birmingham, Fourteenth spring symposium of Byzantine studies* [Studies supplementary to Sobornost, 5] (London, 1981); for the Slavonic *vitae*, see Jostein Børtnes, *Visions of Glory. Studies in Early Russian Hagiography* (Oslo, 1988); and for Latin *vitae*, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, IL, 1981).

¹³ "Akafist novomučeniku voinu Evgeniju Novomu", *Russkie idut*, <http://russkie-idut.ru/akafist/akafist05.htm>, 23-06-2010.

The official Church has other saints on the agenda. The hagiographic discourse of the soldier Evgeny forms the counter-memory of marginalized people without power in Russia today. Almost no one seems to care about one of the most important discourses – the discourse of truth and of finding out what really occurred.

In the case of the Čečen wars, the Russian government was reluctant to acknowledge their existence both internationally and domestically. The war was regarded more or less as a police action against bandits and terrorists.¹⁴ Virtually no official memorials have been erected by the government to the soldiers who have perished in Čečnia. Perhaps it is as a kind of compensation for this lacuna that Evgeny's figure and cult have assumed "such importance in recent years. The attempts to canonize Evgeny form a counter-discourse uniting chauvinistic groups in Russian society and critics of the Russian war in Čečnia. The pseudo-canonization of Evgeny can and ought to be seen in this very concrete historical and political context. The interests of political extremists and the mothers of soldiers are juxtaposed in this very special memory making.

KSENIA



Another recent canonization of a figure who, like Ušakov, lived in the 18th century is that of Ksenia of Petersburg. She was proclaimed a saint in 1988 in one of the first steps the Church took when it was granted greater freedom by the authorities during glasnost, thus giving Petersburg another patron alongside Aleksandr Nevskij and Saint Peter himself. Ksenia enjoys great popularity and attracts considerable attention in Russia today, even among the younger generation. The students of Saint Petersburg University, for example, have erected a bronze plaque with her image on the campus. She is depicted in icons,

hagiographies, and liturgical texts as well as in popular writings, and also in the latest Russian poetry.

The biography presented in various hagiographic and semi-hagiographic depictions of Ksenia runs as follows: She lived in the 18th century and was married to Andrej Feodorovič Petrov, an army officer who also sang in Em-

¹⁴ V. Morozov, "Resisting Entropy, Discarding Human Rights: Romantic Realism and Securitization of Identity in Russia", *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association*, 37.4 (2002), 409–29, <http://cac.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/37/4/409>, 23-06-2010.

press Elizabeth's church choir.¹⁵ When her husband passed away, Ksenia came to the funeral dressed in his uniform, claiming that it was she and not he who had died. Only 26 years old at the time, she began wandering around Petersburg in the guise of her dead husband. She insisted always and to everyone that Ksenia was dead and constantly asked people to dedicate memorial services to her. She became one of Russia's many holy fools, *jurodivye*.¹⁶

The *vita* has it that when her husband's uniform wore out, she went about clothed in thin rags summer and winter. She continued to insist that she was her husband, however, and replied only when addressed as Andrei Feodorovič. With a level of concrete detail that is rare in hagiographies, some accounts relate that she wore a green jacket and red dress or the reverse, a red jacket and green dress.¹⁷ These were the colours of the Preobraženskij regiment in which her husband had served. Petersburgers at first laughed at her, we are told, and, in fact, uncomprehending laughter is an important component in the stories of fools in Christ. When prophecies she made came true, and especially when her feats of faith-healing were recognized, she eventually became widely popular.

The stories told about Ksenia have a certain political relevance. The Soviet regime wanted to stop her veneration, but all its endeavours were in vain. The stories told of her contain a challenge to the Soviet rule. Much more important, however, is her cross-dressing. It can and is interpreted in different ways as one among other examples of shocking behaviour characteristic of holy fools. There is also a sentimentalist interpretation that she went mad out of grief. The Russian specialist on holy fools, Sergej Ivanov, calls her a holy transvestite.¹⁸ Both in her challenge to gender in her cross-dressing and in her behaviour in general, she can be understood as a post-modern saint, which I think helps explain her popularity in modern culture. For example, the late well-known poet Elena Švarc wrote a poem about her and the Dramatic Theatre in Petersburg has staged a play about her. Ksenia's behaviour can be framed both in postmodern queer theory and as a truly Christian illustration of The Letter of St. Paul to the Galatians: "here is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

Thus there is a marked ambiguity in the figure of Ksenia that is well suited to post-Soviet and postmodern Russian culture. Although her appear-

¹⁵ For a summary of early hagiographic material, see Evgeny Rachmanin (ed.), *Žitie i akafist blažennoj Ksenii Peterburgskoj* (Voronež, 1995).

¹⁶ For the best introduction to the theme of holy fools see Sergej Arkad'evič Ivanov, *Blažennye pochaby: kul'turnaja istorija jurodstva* (Moskva, 2005).

¹⁷ The colours are those of the Preobraženskij regiment, in which he reportedly served, see "Svjataja blažennaja Ksenija Peterburgskaja", *Pravoslavie.Ru: Pravoslavnyj kalendar'*, <http://days.pravoslavie.ru/Life/life6689.htm>, 23-06-2010.

¹⁸ Ivanov, 67 f.

ance and behaviour as a fool in Christ actually belong to the premodern era, her enigmatic character and her transformations and contradictions are very much in keeping with our world of today. Most of the recent canonizations are relevant as attempts to come to terms with the Soviet past, but the case of Ksenia is much more complicated and loaded with a very different meaning. Her canonization is in its intent and content diametrically opposite to Ušakov's. It contains a subversive element in relation to power, society and gender.

CONCLUSION

Thus canonizations represent an important culture-generating phenomenon in today's Russia. They are used by the Church both in a memory process of settling accounts with the Soviet harassment of Christians and to strengthen a patriotic ideal in the new Russia; they are also employed by different marginalized groups in the country and even by the postmodernist culture in a way that more or less undermines official discourses. All these uses are in turn heavily mass-medialized and live a special life in the new social media of articles and blogs on the internet or in sensationalist journalism reporting the unexpected and strange. The role of the Church as representative both of common, simple people and of a patriotic and imperialistic discourse makes the canonizations an ambivalent phenomenon that juxtaposes a popular, even folkloric religion and a sort of belated Russian imperialistic Orthodoxy. The whole process seems sometimes to run amuck as can be seen in a newly painted fresco in a church depicting the present patriarch with a halo, which certainly violates all the rules. Explanations claiming that the icon shows the holiness not of the person but of the patriarchal office do not seem very convincing.¹⁹ The fall of the Soviet Union made it possible for the church once more to use canonizations as a mean of promoting faith and ideology. The canonizations of the new martyrs seem to have triggered the development of all more or less strange attempts of canonizing figures from Russian early or late history.

We can thus see these recent canonizations as a mirror of the development of Russian society and thought, which through the post-Soviet years have gone from a very active repudiation of Soviet times to a much more ambiguous relation to the past and future of Russia. The contrast between the canonizations of new martyrs and the canonizations of Fedor Ušakov and the pseudo-canonizations of Ivan the Terrible and other secular leaders re-enact a fundamental doubleness in Christian tradition between a view of the state as evil and a view of the state as an ally. The span of the discourse between the canonization of Ivan the Terrible and Ksenia of Petersburg is also enor-

¹⁹ "Bloggery: patriarcha Kirilla pričislili k liku svjatykh", *Novyj region – Obščestvo*, Publikacii za 16.09.09, <http://www.nr2.ru/society/249386.html>, 01-09-2010.

mous. Yet in its ambiguity and sometimes in its absurdities is not the whole process also paradoxically a sign of a longing for holiness in a postmodern world?

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The Criticism of Aristotle in Nikephoros Gregoras' *Florentius*

Börje Bydén

The subject of this paper is the criticism of Aristotle in Nikephoros Gregoras' dialogue, the *Florentius*, probably composed in the summer of 1337.¹ I would like to begin, however, by making a few general remarks about criticism of Aristotle in Byzantine philosophical literature.² Such criticism is a fairly common phenomenon in this literature. But it is not a homogeneous one. In the following, I will make a distinction between two different kinds of criticism resting on different philosophical assumptions: the one I will label 'rationalistic' (in a weak sense), since its aim is basically to revise Aristotelian natural philosophy in such a way as to be compatible with the Christian dogma; the other I will call 'pessimistic', for it operates on the presumption that the whole enterprise of natural philosophy is doomed to failure.

Byzantine Aristotelianism is strongly influenced by the Late Antique tradition of Aristotelian commentary from Porphyry onwards. In its later phases, this tradition was entirely shaped by philosophers who identified themselves as Platonists, but this does not mean that it is characterised by a particularly critical stance towards Aristotle's philosophy. Rather, it is characterised by the ambition to interpret Aristotle's philosophy in such a way that it is possible to integrate within the framework of Platonic philosophy that these philosophers embraced. Borrowing a well-known phrase from the ancient study of astronomy one could say that these philosophers applied a methodology calculated to 'save the phenomena'. Statements by Aristotle that to the uneducated eye seemed to be at variance with the overarching

¹ For a general introduction to the *Florentius*, see Leone 1975, 27–35.

² An outline of the history of philosophical criticism of Aristotle in the Byzantine era can now be found in B. Bydén, "'No Prince of Perfection': Byzantine Anti-Aristotelianism from the Patristic Period to Pletho", in D. Angelov & M. Saxby (eds.), *Byzantium Behind the Scenes: Power and Subversion* (in press 2012).

Platonic philosophy were shown by the aid of a number of interpretative strategies to be in fact in full agreement with it.³

Byzantine Aristotelianism is also strongly influenced by this tradition. This has the effect of making the Byzantine Aristotle look like a much more Platonic philosopher than he has generally been considered to be in the last few centuries. However, most commentators in Late Antiquity were not only Platonists but also pagans, and all Byzantine commentators were Christians; and it seems to me that there is an important difference between most Greek pagan and most Greek Christian commentators in that the latter are more readily willing to discard Aristotelian doctrines that appear to contradict their own tenets as being simply erroneous. For the Christian commentators do not usually assume that the philosophers are infallible, and thus neither do they have the obligation to explain how things that at first sight seem plainly wrong are really only wrongly interpreted. This may seem to have something to do with the Christian view of human nature (as being of necessity imperfect); but it must not be forgotten that the Platonic notion of assimilation to God as far as possible was very much alive to these Christian writers, and the infallibility that the pagan philosophers ascribed to their past masters was ascribed by the Christians to their prophets, apostles, and Church fathers.

But Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle were not Christians, and however clever their philosophical theories were, they were not, in the Christian view, inspired. It is pretty obvious, I think, that these theories are in many respects impossible to square with any interpretation of the Christian revelation historically possible in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: for a Christian, accordingly, they must contain errors. A more controversial question would be whether it could have been otherwise, that is to say, whether it is in principle possible to reach the truth by relying solely on one's reason, or if one must have recourse to faith. If it is possible to reach the truth by relying solely on one's reason, and the Christian dogma is the truth, then it should also be possible to prove Christian dogma independently of any references to Scripture or the Holy Fathers, using rational argument only, that is, arguing in such a way that every reasonable human being, not only Christians, will be forced to admit that the dogma is true. The definitive results of rational thought would on this view necessarily coincide with the Christian dogma. The reason why Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle occasionally erred will then be that they all had their individual limitations, which prevented them from reaching their ultimate goal, although it was in principle within reach.

This outlook may be called rationalistic, not in the strong sense of assuming that the Christian dogma can *only* be satisfactorily supported by rational argument, but in the weaker sense of assuming that the Christian dogma *can*

³ The methodology of the Late Antique commentators on Aristotle is well documented in Sorabji 2004, 37–55.

be satisfactorily supported by rational argument. Quite a few examples of it can be found in Byzantine philosophical literature. The first and most influential case is probably John Philoponus' treatises on the eternity of the world. Two of these, the *Contra Proclum* and the fragmentarily preserved *Contra Aristotelem*, are practically wholly devoted to criticism of the pagan philosophers starting from premisses supposed to be acceptable to the philosophers but leading to a conclusion that contradicts the thesis of the philosophers at the same time as it coincides with Christian dogma. This conclusion ought to be simply that there is not sufficient reason to believe in the eternity of the world, but it seems that Philoponus in fact also sought to prove that there is sufficient reason to believe in the non-eternity of the world. Similar dialectical or philosophical criticism of the theses of natural philosophy is common, for instance, in such widely circulated Middle and Late Byzantine textbooks as Symeon Seth's *Conspectus rerum naturalium* (latter half of 11th century) and Nikephoros Blemmydes' *Epitome physica* (mid-13th century).⁴

In the generation before Nikephoros Gregoras, this rationalistic-critical attitude towards natural philosophy was still very much alive. In the preface to one of his philosophical essays (probably composed some time after 1310), the learned courtier Nikephoros Choumnos declares his ambition to settle the much-disputed question of the nature of the world, by proceeding demonstratively from safely established principles and definitions, such as are agreed upon by everybody. He will not try to refute his predecessors, he says, but invites his readers to compare his results with theirs (Περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν φύσεως 1.3–2.20). In fact, what Choumnos goes on to do in this essay is precisely what we would expect after such a declaration: to argue philosophically for a world view similar to those of Philoponus, Seth, and Blemmydes, i.e. the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic view modified in accordance with the requirements of the Christian faith. His conclusions are sometimes in agreement with Aristotle and Ptolemy, sometimes not; but the premisses are in principle such that they are supposed to be acceptable to Aristotle and Ptolemy, and perhaps even to all reasonable human beings. The assumption, then, once again, is that it is possible to prove Christian dogma – and its corollaries – without referring to Scripture and the Fathers.

A slightly younger contemporary of Choumnos was Theodore Metochites. Indeed, he was Choumnos' archrival at Andronikos II Palaiologos' court in Constantinople, both for political power and for literary and philosophical glory.⁵ In Metochites' work we also find an amount of criticism of Aristotle. But this is criticism of another kind, based on a different set of

⁴ On the 'rationalistic outlook' in some Byzantine works on natural philosophy, see Bydén (forthcoming).

⁵ The classic study of the literary feud between Metochites and Choumnos (and its social and political setting) is Ševčenko 1962.

philosophical assumptions. Metochites does not share Choumnos' optimistic view concerning our prospects of attaining the truths about the natural world by using our rational faculty. To some extent this may be explained by his rather heavy emphasis on the limitations of the human rational faculty. But the main reason is that he is so strongly influenced by the Platonic view of the sensible world as being full of contradictions and impossible to grasp. This is how he himself puts the matter in his *Introduction to Astronomy* (which was finished around 1316):

Since all the propositions of natural philosophy concern things that are in flux and are subject to generation and destruction ... it is reasonable that they are sometimes erroneous. On the whole it is necessary that opinions and views of an object that is changing are also changing with the object. But the object [sc. of natural philosophy] is not stable; therefore the propositions concerning it are not stable either, and you cannot give exact definitions of concepts of material things the same way you can of mathematical concepts, since the latter have this property of being unchangeable (*Stoich. astron.* 1.2, 166–76, slightly paraphrased).

It seems fair to say, on the basis of this and many similar passages, that Metochites represents a kind of moderate pessimism regarding knowledge of the natural world.⁶ It is possible, he thinks, to have more or less plausible views of many things, but never to arrive at certain and definitive knowledge. In his *Semeioseis gnomikai* (a.k.a. the *Miscellanea historica et philosophica*), Metochites repeatedly acknowledges that Aristotle is a first-rate authority on the natural world. It is hardly surprising, then, that he never bothers to criticise the details of Aristotle's natural philosophy, although he was in fact very well acquainted with these details, having written commentaries on all of Aristotle's writings on natural philosophy. His criticism tends instead to point up the limits of Aristotle's philosophical competence, and to condemn his attempts to overstep these limits. Thus, he maintains that Aristotle deliberately expressed himself obscurely on difficult questions, in order that, for instance, both those who believed in an immortal soul and those who did not would claim to have Aristotle's support and praise him. It would have been more decent of Aristotle, Metochites complains, to admit that the question was incapable of being settled, on account of the nature of the subject matter.⁷

Nikephoros Gregoras was Metochites' pupil and intellectual heir. He, too, was a pessimist regarding the possibility of knowledge of the natural world, only a more radical one. His criticism of Aristotle in the *Florentius* must be seen against this background. I shall soon come back to Gregoras' epistemological pessimism and his criticism of Aristotle, but let me first briefly give

⁶ For Metochites' expressions of sympathy with ancient Scepticism, see Bydén 2002.

⁷ Metochites' criticism of Aristotle is dealt with in detail in Bydén 2003, 40–104.

some relevant biographical information about Gregoras and try to situate the *Florentius* in its historical context.⁸

Gregoras was born in Heraclea on the Black Sea, probably in 1293 or 1294. He came to Constantinople in 1313 or 1314, to study with John Glykys, who at that time held the imperial office of *Logothetes tou Dromou*, and shortly thereafter was appointed patriarch (as John XIII). Glykys introduced him to the *Logothetes tou Genikou*, Theodore Metochites, who became his mentor, and who in turn introduced him at court. He won the emperor's, Andronikos II's, favour, and was sent on an embassy to Serbia (Skopje) in 1326. When Andronikos was overthrown in 1328, Gregoras was deprived of his possessions, but was allowed to stay in Constantinople (in contrast to Metochites, who was exiled to Didymoteichon). Eventually he managed to find favour also with the new emperor, Andronikos III, and his Grand Domestic, John Kantakouzenos, who was later to become Emperor John VI.

If there ever was a time when erudition had a favourable influence on a man's career, it was in Early Palaiologan Constantinople. Gregoras made a name for himself especially for his knowledge of astronomy, which he claims to have learnt from Metochites after much persuasion (*Hist.* 8.7, 1:321–27). He argued before the Emperor in favour of a calendar reform of much the same content as the Gregorian reform of 1582 (*Hist.* 8.13, 1:364–73), and he took part in public debates on astronomical and other issues with Barlaam in the winter of 1331–32.⁹ Gregoras himself states in his *Roman History* (11.10, 1:555–56) that the *Florentius* reproduces such a debate. One of Gregoras' letters (103 Leone) seems to confirm that at least one such debate really did take place, in which Gregoras challenged Barlaam to predict the next solar eclipse (that would have been the one that occurred 14 May,¹⁰ 1333). What other issues might have been discussed is not known: the *Florentius* is practically the only source, and even if it is assigned some kind of quasi-documentary status by Gregoras it undoubtedly corresponds closer to what Gregoras wished had happened than to the actual events.

Barlaam was an orthodox monk from Seminara in Calabria who had arrived in Constantinople a couple of years earlier and caused quite a stir with his profound knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy. His native tongue was presumably Griko (the Greek dialect spoken in southern Italy and Sicily), and his extant writings prove that he had a perfect mastery of both ancient Greek and Latin. He was well versed in Latin philosophy and theology, so it is reasonable to assume that his Aristotelian studies had also (as Gregoras indicates in the *Florentius*, 357–59) partly been conducted in Latin.¹¹

⁸ For accounts of Gregoras' life and works, see van Dieten 1973, 1–62, and Beyer 1978.

⁹ Pace Tihon 2003, 362.

¹⁰ On this letter, see Leone 1975, 28–29.

¹¹ On Barlaam, see Tinnefeld 1980.

It seems as though Barlaam's behaviour in the Constantinopolitan environment was not entirely free of vices such as argumentativeness, arrogance, and conceit. He aroused some animosity, not least from Gregoras, who possibly felt that his prestige was being undermined and feared that this might ruin his chances of rising to prominence again under Andronikos III's regime. Gregoras' reaction was to write a pamphlet, followed by two dialogues in a style inspired more by Plato than by Lucian, in which he restated the views he had earlier expressed in public debates – and misstated, no doubt, the views of Barlaam. The pamphlet is entitled *Reply to Those who Say that There Is No Humility Among Human Beings*. The dialogues are called *Philomathes, or, on Arrogant People*, and *Florentius, or, on Wisdom*: the former is probably the earlier. It contains Philomathes' narration of his encounter with some young men who claim to know many things but in reality know nothing, especially about music. This sounds like a perennial problem, but it seems likely that the *Philomathes* was occasioned by a specific historical event. Gregoras seems to allude to it also towards the end of the *Florentius* (1696–1712). The background is that Gregoras had prepared an edition of Ptolemy's *Harmonics*, which was judged by Ptolemy's modern editor, Düring, as 'very good for its time' (1930, lxxix). In this edition he had undertaken to supplement the text of the incompletely preserved Book 3 with three short chapters that he hoped would endear his memory to posterity, as he revealed in a letter to a friend (*Letter* 114.95–107). What happened was that Barlaam wrote a review of this supplement, which was fairly caustic; Düring, again, described it as 'excellent', printed it in an appendix to his *Harmonics* edition, and referred those who wanted detailed comment on Gregoras' supplement to it (1930, lxxxiii). Fate can be cruel to those who try to write their own memorials.

The scenes of the *Florentius* are partly laid in classical Athens; the interlocutors carry fictitious (and significant) pagan names, but they can easily be identified with the historical persons intended by the aid of a key provided by the author (it has been transmitted in five out of six independent MSS; in one of them, Vat. gr. 1086, it is in Gregoras' hand).¹² The frame dialogue is set in ancient Corcyra, where Critobulus meets Florentius, who has just arrived on a mission from the Athenians. He asks him to sit down and give an account of the current situation in Athens, both 'as regards the armed conflicts that they have externally and the word battles to which they habitually apply themselves internally with intelligence and culture' (18–22). Florentius proceeds to give a brief lecture on contemporary Byzantine history, but he and Critobulus soon drift on to the fortunes of common acquaintances, such as Metrodorus (alias Theodore Metochites) and Nicagoras (alias Nikephoros Gregoras), and eventually the conversation comes to centre on the

¹² Leone 1975, 37.

infamous Calabrian stranger who has come to Athens and had the temerity to challenge Metrodorus' and Nicagoras' reputation for wisdom.

The character representing Barlaam in the *Florentius* is called Xenophanes, and he is described not as an ethnic Greek but as someone who 'by nature speaks the language of the Latins and Italians, but by force speaks also this domestic Greek of ours' (238–40, cf. 352–81, 444–45).¹³ It is also emphasized that Xenophanes has first studied Aristotelian logic and natural philosophy in Latin translation and only subsequently relocated to Epirus in order to learn Greek. There are many other disparaging references to the Latin elements in Barlaam's background, which are very probably exaggerated by Gregoras. So there is no doubt that there is a distinctive anti-Latin edge to the *Florentius*. The knowledge displayed by the Latin-speaking world is dismissed not only for being at two removes from its source, but also and especially for drawing exclusively on Aristotle's works, and precisely on his works on logic and natural philosophy (352–59, *et passim*). Nicagoras' subsequent criticism of these works will thus, as Tatakis and Leone have already pointed out,¹⁴ serve an indirect polemic purpose, namely to show that whatever little the Latins know is also of very little value. Tatakis even suggested that Gregoras' criticism of Aristotle was ultimately directed against the Latin Scholastics (1959, 257). This seems to me to be going too far. The impression I get as I read the dialogue is not so much that Gregoras is trying hard to convince his audience that the Latins are inferior, but rather that he is trying to capitalize on an already existing conviction that the Latins are inferior in order to cast doubt on Barlaam, who, he claims, is a Latin in his heart and soul. In other words, it seems to me that the polemic – or should we say libel – is ultimately directed against Barlaam as an individual.¹⁵

Florentius reports that Nicagoras, who was apparently suffering from a depression, was finally prevailed upon by the commander-in-chief, Demaratos (alias John Kantakouzenos) to meet Xenophanes in a public debate. Lines 625 to 1663 of Leone's edition are taken up by Florentius' account of this debate, presented in a slightly odd mixture of direct and indirect speech, occasionally interspersed with narrator's comments.

The genre of philosophical and theological dialogue lived on throughout the Byzantine era, and there are earlier examples from Middle and Late Byzantium of Plato and Lucian pastiche with all the traditional trappings.¹⁶

¹³ It is actually denied by Florentius – contrary to fact – that Greek is spoken in Calabria, 'not even the common language still used to this day by Greek peasants and farm hands' (244–246).

¹⁴ Leone 1975, 34; Tatakis 1959, 257.

¹⁵ As Katerina Ierodiakonou has pointed out to me, it might prove interesting to compare the picture of Barlaam in Gregoras' dialogue with the picture of John Italos in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*.

¹⁶ A well known example from the early 12th century is the anonymously transmitted *Timarion*; other philosophical dialogues from the later 12th to early 14th centuries include

So Gregoras did not have to reinvent the genre. One may still legitimately wonder why he chose to present his own versions of his debates with Barlaam in this particular form. One reason was no doubt that the fictional setting made it easier for him to idealise himself and to caricature Barlaam. Especially, the Platonic dialogue provided a template for representing the one interlocutor as a philosopher and the other as a sophist: there are many allusions to that effect in the *Florentius*.

Another important reason may have been that Gregoras wanted to play on nationalist sentiments. I have already mentioned that there is an anti-Latin edge to the *Florentius*. The very identification of Constantinople with ancient Athens rather than, for instance, Rome seems intended to emphasize the Byzantines' privileged relation to Greek philosophy. The same could be said of the choice of Plato as a literary model. The study of philosophy in Byzantium was always strongly marked by the Late Antique Platonic heritage, and accordingly Plato was normally considered to be superior to Aristotle. He was apparently also perceived by many Orthodox to be more of a kindred spirit to the Christian faith than Aristotle was. And at this time, the study of Plato was almost exclusively a Greek concern. Of the small number of dialogues that were available in Latin translation, only the *Timaeus* was generally known.¹⁷ In Byzantium, in contrast, Plato was always studied, not only or even primarily for his philosophy, but as a paragon of grammar and rhetoric; and no matter how well read the Westerners were in Aristotle, they knew very little about Greek grammar and rhetoric. Thus, as Nicagoras repeatedly maintains in the *Florentius*, they lacked the elementary qualifications for understanding anything about Greek philosophy. So Gregoras may have chosen to imitate Plato partly in order to evoke a sense of superiority in his Byzantine readers. In addition, his criticism of Aristotle partly rests on what he probably thought of as Platonic philosophical assumptions. So he may have chosen to imitate Plato partly, also, in order to underline his own Platonism.

Let us go back to the dialogue itself. Xenophanes alias Barlaam has come to give proof of his wisdom, and he defies Nicagoras alias Gregoras to test him on any subject he likes. Nicagoras chooses to ask him an elementary astronomical question, namely 'what time is it?' (704–710). The idea is that Xenophanes should determine, with the help of an instrument, the exact positions of the seven planets; this, however, he refuses to do.

It is hardly unexpected for a test of someone who has come from the West to Constantinople in 1331 and professes to be an expert in every field to begin with astronomy. Astronomy was the final stage of the quadrivium. It was also the science in vogue in early fourteenth-century Byzantium, and

Theodore Prodromos' *Xenedemus* as well as the anonymous *Hermippus*. Elenctic dialogues on theological subjects are not uncommon; see Hunger 1991.

¹⁷ See e.g. Hankins 1987, 700–702..

it was apparently considered to be a neglected discipline in the West. Nicagoras claims in the *Florentius* that ‘neither astronomy nor most other branches of wisdom that have thrived among the Greeks have citizenship in the Latin countries’ (760–62), and Xenophanes seems to agree as far as the mathematical disciplines are concerned (766–69). Whatever the truth of this claim, it is certainly unfair of Gregoras to represent Barlaam as being ignorant of astronomy. According to Anne Tihon (1981, 613–14), both he and Gregoras were virtuosi in the field: they both made exact predictions of solar eclipses and other advanced computations, but none of them used their knowledge for anything but purposes of prestige and polemic. And they never recorded any observations.

When Xenophanes admits to not knowing anything about astronomy, Nicagoras proposes to question him on the first stage of the trivium, i.e. grammar, another discipline with which Xenophanes as a Latin-speaking immigrant may be expected to have difficulties. Xenophanes is reasonably offended, and Nicagoras suggests that rhetoric might be a better choice. But Xenophanes regards himself as a philosopher, and thus he has only contempt for superficial subjects like the ones proposed by Nicagoras (765–821, cf. 463–67). He insists that they should talk about Aristotle’s works and stay away from the subjects before and after these on the curriculum. For Aristotle, Xenophanes claims, never wrote a word about grammar or rhetoric; Aristotle focused on the study of nature, since it has a true and reliable object (895–904). Nicagoras takes this statement as a cue to scold Xenophanes for not being aware that Aristotle was in fact so interested in grammar, poetics and rhetoric, that he wrote textbooks on these subjects, subjects which are necessary to master for anyone who wants to use dialectical and demonstrative arguments safely, since language is the organ by which the intellect grasps its objects (904–25).

The reason why Gregoras thought Aristotle composed works on grammar might be that he assumed, on the basis of educational practice as well as Dionysius Thrax’ definition of grammar as ‘the experience of the language mostly used by poets and authors’, that the *Poetics* had such a content. That is only speculation, of course, but his description of the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* as textbooks, ‘which are to this day very useful’, strongly suggests that he had not read them. This is no big surprise, since both works were just as neglected in Byzantium as they were in Western Europe at the time; that is to say, the *Poetics* was not read at all, and the *Rhetoric* only to a limited extent; more limited, I should add, in Byzantium than in the West.¹⁸

According to Xenophanes, then, the study of nature has a true and reliable object. He offers to give dialectical and demonstrative arguments supporting all of Aristotle’s findings in the field (928–31), but this offer is turned down by Nicagoras, who proceeds to give a rather disparaging de-

¹⁸ On the fortunes of the *Rhetoric* in Middle and Late Byzantium, see Bydén 2003, 55–59.

scription of Aristotelian logic as the doorway of education, in which, he is careful to point out, the Latins have got stuck.

Logic, Nicagoras explains (932–74), is a kind of implement that has been invented to help weaker spirits make their way to the heights of true knowledge. The people who invented it were stronger spirits whose intellect guided them directly to these heights, but whose ambition made them descend again to the secondary things in the sensible world and contemplate the ramification of unity over diversity. Nicagoras obviously counts Aristotle among the stronger spirits; for Aristotle, he claims, invented dialectic and eristic as a means of training the uninitiated and facilitating their progress to the truths ‘concerning some things, to the extent that it was necessary’ (964–68). Thus it seems that Nicagoras does ascribe *some* kind of usefulness to logic as a means of attaining *some* kind of truth, although he gives no information about the nature of this truth and does not specify exactly *how* and to *what* extent it can be reached.¹⁹

About midway through the main dialogue (1026–32), Xenophanes alias Barlaam cedes the stage to Xenocrates, a Latin friar, according to the author’s key (see above, p. 116), and Nicagoras proceeds to subject Aristotelian natural philosophy to detailed criticism. This criticism is, however, prefaced by some epistemological remarks by Nicagoras at the end of his conversation with Xenophanes. This is where Gregoras develops his radical pessimism regarding the possibility of knowledge of the natural world; and since they clearly have a bearing on the interpretation of the later criticism, let us first consider these epistemological remarks.

According to Nicagoras (978–1005), it is clear from Aristotle’s own theory of science that knowledge of the natural world is impossible. For the doctrine of the *Posterior Analytics* is that science is produced by demonstrative deductions, and the starting-points of these are (in Gregoras’ paraphrase) a kind of intelligible forms that result from the universalisation of particulars provided to the intellect by sense-perception. But in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, says Nicagoras, Aristotle does not admit the existence of any forms or universals.

Moreover, he continues (1006–25), Aristotle’s account of demonstrative science is self-contradictory. For how is it possible for the intellect, which is immaterial, to create the starting-points of science from particular sensible things, which are material? What is in constant flux cannot be grasped. If anyone should suggest that it creates them not from the particular sensible things themselves, but from their forms, i.e. size, shape, colour, etc., then it must be pointed out that these too are particular, and thus constantly coming and going, toing and froing; but demonstrative science should have a subject that is firm and stable.

¹⁹ On Gregoras’ attitude to logic generally, see Ierodiakonou 2002, 221–224.

Nicagoras' criticism of Aristotle's account in *Posterior Analytics* 2.19 touches on a classic problem, namely how the inductive process described by Aristotle can give rise to concepts – or propositions – that are 'true and primary' in such a way that they warrant the truth of all the scientific propositions deduced from them. A classic (Neoplatonic) solution to this problem consists in assigning a creative part in this process to (the active) intellect. Nicagoras seems to take it for granted that intellect plays such a part, but evidently he has little faith in the intellect's capacity to impose truly universal forms on the recalcitrant material provided by sense-perception.

His interpretation of Aristotle's criticism of Plato in *Nicomachean Ethics* 1.6, on the other hand, is decidedly preposterous, and it seems very unlikely that Barlaam would have had any difficulties refuting it. Obviously, the fact that Aristotle rejects the possibility of a universal Good (i.e. a Form of the Good that is shared by every good thing) does not imply that he rules out the existence of universals altogether.

In any case, I think it is clear that Nicagoras' criticism is not of a methodological character. That is, he does not mean to say that Aristotle has not shown us the best way to attain knowledge about the sensible world. He means to say that there *is* no way to attain knowledge about the sensible world, and he invites us to contemplate the consequences of this for natural philosophy. This can be done, Nicagoras suggests, by looking at Aristotle's works in the field. For Aristotle, he says, says different things in different passages, and sometimes he contradicts the obvious facts, other times he contradicts himself. In this way, he goes on, Aristotle implicitly agrees with those older philosophers whose opinion was that most things are impossible to grasp; but he is careful not to do it explicitly, since he is loath to share his glory with them (969–74).

Nicagoras returns to the implicit message of Aristotle's writings at the beginning of his talk with Xenocrates (1033–40). He then explains that the reason why Aristotle has remained unchallenged in natural philosophy for so many years is not that his statements are incontrovertible, but rather that intelligent readers have observed that his statements are often contradicted by the facts or by himself, and understood the implication, namely that the objects of natural philosophy are impossible to grasp, and hence, it is pointless to discuss them. Not only the epistemology of this discussion is reminiscent of Gregoras' teacher Metochites: the idea that Aristotle pretends to know things he does not know in vain pursuit of glory is also found in him.²⁰

It might not be immediately clear whether Nicagoras means to say that Aristotle contradicts himself deliberately or not. In the former case, he would be employing a 'pedagogical' strategy of interpretation in the style of the late antique commentary tradition ('Aristotle contradicts himself in order to lay traps for the unworthy at the same time as he shows the worthy his real

²⁰ See Bydén 2003, 49–74.

opinion, namely that there is no objective truth about the subject'). In the latter case he is employing what might be called an 'anthropological' strategy in the style of Metochites ('Aristotle contradicts himself because he does not know what he is talking about, but he pretends to know, in order to win admiration'). I incline to think that this is what he means to say, although it is by no means certain that he had made up his mind about it himself: there are traces of a 'pedagogical' strategy of interpretation in Metochites too.²¹

It is high time now for us to cast a glance at Nicagoras' criticism of Aristotle's natural philosophy, but I would like to underline how crucial it is that we view this criticism against the background of these prefatory epistemological remarks. The errors and inconsistencies which Nicagoras points out in Aristotle's works are not adduced by him as evidence that Aristotle was a bad natural philosopher, but as evidence that natural philosophy itself does not give access to any firm and stable truth. We must not, therefore, expect Gregoras to think that the alternative theories presented by Nicagoras in the dialogue have a claim to firm and stable truth any more than Aristotle's theories do.

The first part of Aristotle's natural philosophy that is criticised by Nicagoras is his elemental theory. Aristotle's elemental theory is an integral part of his cosmology. I shall leave out the finer details only to say that according to this theory, there are four elements or primary bodies: earth, water, air, and fire; and four primary qualities constituted by two pairs of contraries: wet and dry, cold and hot. The primary qualities are distributed over the four elements in such a way that earth is dry and cold, water is cold and wet, air is wet and hot, and fire is hot and dry. The ultimate reason why the elements appear in this sequence is that it forms a chain in which each link shares one primary quality with the preceding link and one with the following link. The resulting notion of 'a harmonious circle that unites conflicting things', in the words of Nikephoros Blemmydes (*Epitome physica* 11.22), is a dear one to Byzantine writers on cosmology. As Blemmydes explained, generation and destruction comes about through the contrariety of the elements, but the preservation of the cosmos depends on their kinship. Since place in the Aristotelian cosmos is the inner surface of the surrounding body, and heaviness and lightness are defined as tendencies to move towards a certain place, heaviness and lightness too will be dependent on the primary qualities.²²

Aristotle's elemental theory gave rise to a number of conundrums for his later interpreters. Thus Nicagoras' and Xenocrates' discussion starts with an argument about whether air or water should be considered the wettest element, and after that there is another argument about whether air is naturally

²¹ See Bydén 2003, 65–69.

²² Cf. Aristotle, *De caelo* 4.3 and *Physics* 4.5 with Simplicius' commentary (esp. *In Phys.* 597.16–20).

hot or cold.²³ But the most tantalising part of the discussion is this: Xenocrates makes an allusion (1107–1111) to the harmonious unity of the elements in the Aristotelian order of things, whereupon Nicagoras retorts that many wise men, especially the Stoics, have held that conflict is what keeps the world together, since harmony is an agreement between conflicting things. In that case, Xenocrates says (1120–21), the elements will be directly opposed to each other, since there is no intermediate thing in which they share. Oh, yes there is, Nicagoras assures him: there is heaviness and lightness connecting them into a harmonious unity.

What is going on in this dialogue? Evidently, Xenocrates has raised an objection to the effect that something Nicagoras has said has the consequence that the elements will not have any qualities in common, and therefore there will be no harmonious unity in the world.

Now Nicagoras denies the consequence, referring to the fact that all the elements share in heaviness or lightness. That is, I presume, tantamount to admitting that the consequence would follow if the elements did not share in heaviness or lightness. It must be assumed, then, that Nicagoras has made a statement which would entail that the elements do not have any qualities in common, if it were not for the fact that they share in heaviness or lightness. This statement can only be that Aristotle's doctrine of each element having two primary qualities is false. But Nicagoras has not explicitly said that this doctrine is false. All he has said is that wetness is a constitutive quality in water, not in air. This does affect the order of the elements but not in such a way that some of them will have no qualities in common.

But let us not content ourselves with thinking that the characters of Gregoras' dialogue are talking at cross purposes. Let us instead assume that Nicagoras *has* rejected Aristotle's two-quality theory. It then appears that the reference to the fact that all the elements share in heaviness or lightness must be meant to suggest that this fact will replace the participation in the primary qualities as the basis on which the harmonious unity of the cosmos is resting. But in order for heaviness and lightness to explain how the elements with their contrary qualities can form a unity, we have to regard heaviness and lightness as different quantities – i.e. degrees – of the same quality, i.e. weight. That is to say, Nicagoras cannot regard them as contrary qualities, as Aristotle did, for in that case heavy and light elements would not have a quality in common. But if Nicagoras explains the unity of the cosmos by the sharing of all things in weight, how does he conceive of this unity? Possibly, he conceives of it not only as the propensity to act and be acted upon in a certain order, but as physical cohesion.

²³ On the debate over these questions in early Palaiologan Byzantium, see Bydén 2003, 119–36.

This possibility reasserts itself later in the dialogue. Aristotle denied the existence of void both inside the cosmos and outside the cosmos, since, on his definition of place (as the inner surface of the surrounding body) there can be no place where there is not a body. Nicagoras argues for the existence of void both inside the cosmos, in small pockets, and outside the cosmos. He maintains that this is the view of most ancient philosophers (1408–30). However that may be, the existence of void outside the cosmos is a well-known Stoic doctrine, well-known not only to us, but also to Gregoras and his contemporaries. It was primarily known to them from Cleomedes, whose book was quite popular in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, but also from Plutarch and other sources.²⁴ Now, a classic Peripatetic objection to the assumption of a void outside the cosmos is that nothing will stop the cosmos from going adrift or dispersing in all directions. Cleomedes' reply to this is that the cosmos is permeated by a cohesive force which causes all its parts to tend towards its centre (*Cael.* 1.1.91–99).

In the *Florentius*, Nicagoras is defending the existence of void outside the cosmos (1408–33), and thus he too is in need of some kind of cohesive force to meet the Peripatetic objection. But the Stoic cohesive force is corporeal, and can only permeate the cosmos on the condition that all parts of the cosmos are continuous. And indeed, the Stoics rejected the existence of void inside the cosmos. Nicagoras, on the other hand, defends that too, in small pockets (*ibid.*). Possibly, Gregoras considered that the existence of void in small pockets would not stop the cohesive force from permeating the cosmos. Or else, perhaps more likely, he could have been thinking in terms of an incorporeal force, acting at a distance, like some of the forces envisaged by those late antique Platonic writers who reinterpreted the Stoic doctrine of cosmic sympathy in a non-corporealist direction, some of whom Gregoras knew very well, not least Synesius, on whose *On Dreams* he wrote a commentary around the end of the 1320s.

But if the unity of the cosmos is secured by the fact that everything has weight, and if the cohesion of the cosmos in the void can only be secured by a cohesive force, it seems to be an economical and reasonable assumption that the cohesive force is what manifests itself in the fact that everything has weight. Such a force is a force of gravitation. Some kind of universal cohesive force which could easily be interpreted as a force of gravitation is described in a fascinating pseudo-Presocratic testimonium presented by Xenocrates in lines 1376–92, and spoken of with approval by Nicagoras in the subsequent lines. The central part of it is as follows:

The earth is of necessity situated in the middle, since it is kept in its place by the circular movement of the heavens and not allowed the space to move hither or thither; and then (or: consequently, *κἀντεῦθεν*) also the heavens are

²⁴ On Cleomedes' *fortuna* in Byzantium, see Todd 1992.

of necessity controlled by the earth and turn around it always, since they are not capable of deviating hither or thither in the void outside the world (*Flor.* 1377–84).

A plausible interpretation of the first part of this testimonium would be that the circular movement of the heavens exerts a repulsive force on the earth, which causes it to stay in the middle. There is indeed an authentic testimonium, provided in Aristotle's *De caelo* (2.13, 295a16–21), according to which Empedocles held that the rapid movement of the heavens prevented the earth from moving, 'as the water in a cup, when the cup is given a circular motion, though it is often underneath the bronze, is for this same reason prevented from moving with the downward movement which is natural to it' (A67). And if this interpretation is correct, then a plausible interpretation of the second part would be that the earth exerts a *contrary* force, that is, an attractive force, on the heavens. There are no authentic Presocratic testimonia in which that idea is found. But in the light of Gregoras' acquaintance with the late antique Platonic reinterpretation of the Stoic doctrine of cosmic sympathy, it is perfectly possible that this is what he had in mind. And if it is what he had in mind, I think he may have come closer to anticipating Newton's theory of universal gravitation than any other ancient or mediaeval philosopher.

It is perfectly possible. But is it probable? As you may have guessed, it takes quite a bit of systematisation of the source material in order to detect that anticipation. Gregoras only provides us with a series of disconnected thoughts. It is clear, I think, that these thoughts could be fragments of a unified structure, but there is no compelling evidence that they are. The reason, I take it, is that whatever philosophical activity is going on in this dialogue is strictly negative. The purpose is to show that even the doctrines of the greatest of natural philosophers are open to doubt, since natural philosophy is unable to grasp the truth. Gregoras was not interested in trying to present a systematic alternative to Aristotelian natural philosophy, simply because he did not think it feasible.

So the chances are that the disconnected thoughts on natural philosophy that we find in the *Florentius* are just that, and not the surfacing peaks of a sunken continent of systematic natural philosophy. If there is any philosophical lesson to be learnt from this dialogue, I think it may have to do with the freedom and the limitations inherent in radical epistemological pessimism.²⁵

²⁵ It is an intriguing fact that Gregoras is the exact contemporary of Nicholas of Autrecourt. A detailed comparison between the *Florentius* and the *Exigit ordo* might prove interesting.

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Virginity in Danger: Holiness and Sexuality in the *Life of Mary of Antioch*

Stavroula Constantinou

As a state of both physical chastity and spiritual purity, virginity is central to the construction of female sanctity. The overwhelming majority of women venerated in Byzantine hagiography are virgins, and virginity constitutes a main aspect of their legends.¹ For instance, female martyrs are, by a large majority, virgins. In most female martyr legends virginity stands for Christianity, since the female protagonists are condemned to suffering and decapitation less for their faith than for their unwillingness to lose their virginity through the marriage offered to them by their tormentors. In other words, these women are led to holiness because of their painful yet successful struggle to keep their threatened virginity intact. While the martyr's body is cut into pieces through the horrendous tortures inflicted upon her, her virginity remains undamaged. Paradoxically, the more her body is dismembered the more protected her virginity becomes. The integrity of her virginity contrasted with the dismemberment of her body constitutes a sign of her holiness.²

¹ See Stavroula Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women* [Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 9] (Uppsala, 2005). For virginity and its meaning in early Christianity, see Peter Brown, "The Notion of Virginity in the Early Church", in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*. Ed. by Bernard McGinn & John Meyendorff [World Spirituality. An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest, 16] (London, 1986), 427-443; Averil Cameron, "Virginity as Metaphor: Women and the Rhetoric of Early Christianity", in *History as Text: the Writing of Ancient History*. Ed. by Averil Cameron (London, 1989), 184-205; Elizabeth Castelli, "Virginity and its Meaning for Women's Sexuality in Early Christianity", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 2:1 (1986), 61-88; Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 1996); and Teresa M. Shaw, "Creation, Virginity and Diet in Fourth-Century Christianity: Basil of Ancyra's *On the True Purity of Virginity*", in *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Ed. by Maria Wyke (Oxford, 1998), 155-172.

² See Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 19-58.

Virginity is vital not only in martyr legends, but also in other holy women's hagiographical texts. Most holy cross-dressers adopt male attire and enter a male monastery in order to avoid the marriage imposed on them by their fathers. These women treat marriage as a *miasma*, and they consider virginity as the only means leading them to salvation.³ The nuns and abbesses of Byzantine hagiography, to mention two further examples, are also in their large majority virgins, dedicating from an early age their virginity to Christ whom they treat as their spiritual bridegroom.⁴ As is the case of cross-dressers, nuns and abbesses are often involved in a family conflict too: they rebel against their parents' attempts to marry them off. Thus for most of the cross-dressers, nuns and abbesses, the monastic community functions not only as a place of spiritual life but also as a shelter of their virginity. These women's entrance into a monastery marks their removal from the marriage market of their societies.

Of course, chastity is a characteristic of male sanctity as well, yet it is not as much of an issue in Byzantine hagiography as in the case of female virginity. Hagiographers never base their plots on male chastity, and in most cases they do not even mention it, for they treat it as natural and self-evident. Male chastity does not interest Byzantine hagiographers for yet another reason. In contrast to their female counterparts, pious men achieve sanctity in other ways considered "masculine" in a patriarchal society: they are sanctified for controlling "masculine" impulses, such as the thirst for wealth, social status, and power.

Byzantine hagiographers' obsession with female chastity, which might be associated with the doctrine of Mary's everlasting virginity as well as with patristic writings presenting virginity as the highest ideal for women,⁵ is further attested by a curious *Life* in which the female protagonist's virginity

³ See Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 90-126. For the type of the cross-dressing saint, see also John Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and Development of a Motif", *Viator* 5 (1974), 1-32; Nicholas Conostas, "Life of St. Mary/Marinos", in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*. Ed. by Alice-Mary Talbot [Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, 1] (Washington, DC, 1996), 1-5; Stephen J. Davis, "Crossed Texts, Crossed Sex: Intertextuality and Gender in Early Christian Legends of Holy Women Disguised as Men", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10:1 (2002), 1-36; Nathalie Delierneux, "Anne-Euphémianos, l'épouse devenue eunuque: continuité et évolution d'un modèle hagiographique", *Byzantion* 72 (2002), 105-138; Evelyne Patlagean, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance", *Studi Medievali*, terza serie, 17 (1976), 597-623.

⁴ See Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 127-161.

⁵ In the fourth century, virginity became a subject of theoretical texts authored by influential theologians, such as John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Methodius of Olympus, and Basil of Ancyra. See Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 259-284, Gillian Cloke, *This Female Man of God: Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350-450* (London & New York, 1995), 57-81, and Shaw, 155-172.

plays a central role while the heroine, a namesake of God's mother, the ideal virgin, does not belong to any of the categories of holy women mentioned above. This text is the *Life of Mary of Antioch* [BHG 1045],⁶ an anonymous hagiographical work probably written between the fifth and the seventh centuries, which will be approached here through the aspect of virginity.⁷

Mary's Life reads as follows: a poor and very pious widow, whose name is not given, lives in Antioch in Syria with her beautiful young daughter Mary, whom she persuades not to marry but rather to offer up her virginity to Christ (I.1). The two women spend most of their time in church where at some point they are seen by a leading citizen of the town named Anthemios, who immediately falls in love with Mary. Despite the widow's pleas that he give up pursuing her daughter, Anthemios woos Mary constantly (I.2). After two years of unsuccessful attempts, Mary is eventually brought to Anthemios's bedroom through the intervention of a magician (II.6). Realizing what has happened to her, Mary starts crying, and asks for God's help (II.7). After shedding many tears, the heroine is empowered by a divine force to confront Anthemios. She tells him that she cannot marry him without her mother's consent. She asks him to let her go back to her mother, and swears to come back to him, and to become his wife (II.8). Convinced by Mary's words, Anthemios sets her free without harming her chastity (II.9).

Highly impressed by the magician's power, who had achieved in one night what he himself was unable to accomplish in two years, Anthemios forgets his desire for Mary, and he is overcome by a stronger one: to acquire the power possessed by the magician (II.9). To this end he visits the magician, and asks to become like him. The magician instructs him to deny Christ in writing, and sends him with a paper to meet Satan at a bridge by night (III.10-12). When Satan starts taunting Christ with Anthemios's written denial of his faith, the hero realizes his sin (III.12-13). He runs to a bishop and asks for forgiveness (III.13). After selling all his property and distributing the money to the needy, Anthemios sends for Mary's mother. When the woman is brought before him, he gives her gold, and asks her both to forgive him for wooing her daughter and to pray for his salvation. Having done this, he leaves Antioch and apparently adopts the life of the ascetic (III.14).

⁶ The text used here is the one edited in *AASS Maii VII* (1688), 50-58.

⁷ In the last decade medievalists have shown a growing interest in the study of virginity. The considerable number of works that have appeared on the subject had as a result the establishment of a new discipline within the framework of medieval studies. See, for example, Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans & Sarah Salih (eds.) *Medieval Virginites* (Cardiff, 2003); Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl (eds.) *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1999); Sarah Salih, *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2001); and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture: Virginity and its Authorizations* (Oxford, 2001). While virginity studies are so popular among Western medievalists, Byzantinists have shown almost no interest in examining Byzantine virginites, which constitute a very rich and interesting field of study.

The *Life of Mary*, a text that has received almost no scholarly attention,⁸ is unique. There is no other female *Life* in the Byzantine hagiographical tradition venerating a lay saint who is sanctified through her celibate life.⁹ More common is the Life of the pious wife attaining holiness through the martyrdom of a marriage in which she is violently beaten by her impious husband who is opposed to her Christian practices.¹⁰ The unique character of Mary's *Life* lies not only in how the heroine becomes a saint, but also in other factors related to generic conventions and to narrative elements—all of which are strongly interrelated since, as will be shown, they are determined by the heroine's virginity and its characteristics. I argue that the uniqueness of this text, putting a great distance between its protagonist and other Byzantine holy women, should be explained through the intentions of the author who must have produced this particular text with a lay audience in mind. Through Mary's *Life*, the hagiographer aims at regulating the conduct and aspirations of lay people and not those of a monastic audience, as is the case with most hagiographical works.¹¹ As the following analysis will demonstrate, our text celebrates behaviors deemed appropriate for lay people, especially women, while at the same time it reflects the probable needs and interests of a lay female audience in particular.¹²

⁸ References to Mary's Life are made only within the framework of discussions concerning the origins of the Faust legend. See for example Ludwig Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage: Der Zauberer Cyprianus, die Erzählung des Helladius, Theophilus (Anthemius)* [Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 206:4] (Vienna & Leipzig, 1927), 261-270.

⁹ The term "female Life" used here is a generic one, and refers to the Byzantine Lives whose protagonists are holy women. See Stavroula Constantinou, "Subgenre and Gender in Saints' Lives", in *Les Vies des Saints à Byzance: Genre littéraire ou biographie historique? Actes du IIe colloque international philologique Paris, 6-7-8 juin 2002*. Ed. by Paolo Odorico & Panagiotis Agapitos [Dossiers Byzantins, 4] (Paris, 2004), 411-423.

¹⁰ See Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 162-192. For the type of the holy pious wife, see also Stavroula Constantinou, "Performing Gender in the Lives of Lay Saints", in *Performing Byzantium*. Ed. by Margaret Mullett (forthcoming); Angeliki E. Laiou, "Life of St. Mary the Younger", in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*. Ed. by Alice-Mary Talbot [Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, 1] (Washington, DC, 1996), 239-252; *eadem*, "Η ιστορία ενός γάμου: ο βίος της αγίας Θωμαΐδος της Λεσβίας", in *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο: τομές και συνέχειες στην ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή παράδοση. Πρακτικά του Α' διεθνούς συμποσίου, 15-17 Σεπτεμβρίου 1988*. Ed. by Christina G. Angelidi (Athens, 1989), 237-251; Patlagean, 620-621.

¹¹ For the audience of hagiography, see Antonia Kiousopoulou, *Χρόνος και ηλικίες στη βυζαντινή κοινωνία: η κλίμακα των ηλικιών από τα αγιολογικά κείμενα της μέσης εποχής (7ος-11ος αι.)* [Ιστορικό Αρχείο Ελληνικής Νεολαίας, Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς, 30] (Athens, 1997), 30-45.

¹² As Claudia Rapp has shown, Byzantine hagiographers were very conscious about their audiences to whose tastes and needs they appropriated their texts. At the same time, however, they tried to shape their audiences' interests. See Claudia Rapp, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and Their Audience", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996), 313-344.

From a generic point of view, Mary's hagiography is not a typical female Life. In this text, at least two important hagiographical conventions are violated. As for the first, according to which sanctity involves a form of bodily suffering, Mary attains holiness without undergoing any pain.¹³ She is sanctified because she keeps her chastity untouched by not marrying a man who falls madly in love with her. In contrast to other holy virgins, such as the solitary, the nun or the abbess, she neither abandons the world nor does she undertake any ascetic practices. While in female martyr legends endangered virginity is inextricably related to violence— and, as pointed out by Sarah Salih, “the virgin body is constituted by suffering, and resisting, torture. [...] The torture scenes can be understood as a virginity test, simultaneously producing and displaying the virgin body”¹⁴ — this is not the case with Mary. Thus one of the integral parts of a Life's or a Passion's narrative structure, the meticulous presentation of a saint's asceticism or tortures, is absent from the present hagiographical text.

The second hagiographical convention broken in the *Life of Mary of Antioch* has to do with the presentation of a saint's religious career from the moment it starts until its very end when the saint dies.¹⁵ Mary's religious life, on the contrary, is reduced to her church visits and her practice of virginity until the end of her life. In fact, Mary's religious life covers only a few years; its portrayal starts from the moment when she decides not to marry until the time when the heroine's virginity is no longer at risk. As soon as her virginity is ensured, she disappears from the narrative. In other words, Mary's virginity acquires narrative significance as long as it is under threat. The heroine appears to interest her hagiographer and his audience more for her threatened virginity than for her piety.

Another uncommon characteristic of this Life is the fact that it relates two almost independent stories that take up approximately the same narrative space, thus assuming the same importance. The protagonist of the first story is Mary while the second story's central hero is Anthemios, the man desiring Mary in the previous story. As for the plot of Anthemios's story, it is based on the hero's thirst for power. In his attempt to satisfy his new desire, Anthemios performs certain deeds through which the narrative develops.

¹³ Another atypical female Life in which no bodily suffering is involved is the *Life of Theodora the Empress* [BHG 1731], a text of the ninth century whose protagonist is also a lay saint, an exemplary wife and mother sanctified for restoring the image veneration. See Martha P. Vinson, “Life of St. Theodora the Empress”, in *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*. Ed. by Alice-Mary Talbot [Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, 2] (Washington DC, 1998), 353-360. Theodora's Life is edited by Athanasios Markopoulos, “Βίος της αυτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας (BHG 1731)”, *Symmeikta* 5 (1983), 249-285. It is translated into English by Vinson, “St. Theodora”, 361-382.

¹⁴ Salih, 96.

¹⁵ See Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* [Millennium Studies, 6] (Berlin & New York, 2005).

In contrast to Mary, who remains the same person from the beginning until the end of her story, Anthemios is not a static character – he changes as the plot unfolds. Mary has a single and eternal desire: to remain a virgin and in so doing to please her mother and achieve holiness. Anthemios, on the contrary, has more desires not all of which are permanent. At the beginning he wants to possess Mary's body. In order to satisfy his lust for Mary, he is prepared to give everything he has – all his wealth. Interestingly, as soon as Mary agrees to become Anthemios's wife, his sexual desire for her fades away, only to be replaced by his longing for power. In order to fulfill this second desire, Anthemios is ready to give up not only all his property but also his faith. Once he recognizes that the satisfaction of his desire for power will cause divine punishment, Anthemios is overwhelmed by a third, and this time enduring, desire: to be forgiven. For a third and last time Anthemios is prepared to give everything he possesses to satisfy his last desire. He eventually gets rid of all his possessions and of his worldly desires. While Mary acquires holiness by not altering her only desire to keep her virginity untouched despite all the riches, the female adornments, and the social status offered to her by her suitor, Anthemios attains sainthood by transforming his worldly desires into a desire for salvation.

Anthemios, who is treated as a saint by the hagiographer but not by the Byzantines, is, like the large majority of saints, a heroic figure: he gives away his vast fortune, he renounces his worldly glory and social status, he performs exemplary humiliation, he undergoes a harsh penance, and he ends his life as an unknown ascetic. Mary, on the contrary, performs no heroic deeds. She is an ordinary person whose sanctification testifies that a young woman's life in the world can become holy. Through Mary the distance between holiness and laity is canceled. Every young Byzantine woman wishing to avoid marriage could identify with Mary. Unlike the lives of the other holy women, that of Mary was very easy to imitate, since it spoke to the actual experiences of laywomen who could simply imagine themselves in her place. While Mary might have functioned as a model for laywomen, Anthemios could have provided laymen with an example of improper male behavior that should be avoided. His story teaches laymen not to desire consecrated virgins,¹⁶ to prevent themselves from treating worldly matters such as the acquisition of power as more important than their faith, and to take refuge in God and his saints, not in magicians.

The *Life of Mary of Antioch* is an unusual hagiographical text for yet another reason. It has at its very center a narrative element not typical of Byzantine Greek female Lives: the protagonist's strong bond with her biological mother is the result of her practice of virginity and vice-versa: her rejection

¹⁶ For consecrated virgins in early Christianity, see Brown, *The Body*, 259-284, and Cooper, 68-91.

of marriage allows her to have a very close relationship with her mother.¹⁷ Within the framework of this relationship Mary is cast in the role of the beloved and obedient daughter, which could also have proved appealing to Byzantine laywomen. On the one hand, the heroine's quality as an exemplary daughter makes her a suitable model for laywomen, and, on the other, it fits laywomen's construction of themselves as pious women and therefore ideal daughters.

Portrayed right from the beginning of the narrative, Mary's relationship with her mother appears to govern her whole life. Mary is wholly dependent on her mother, the only person with whom she has contact. The heroine spends all her time together with her mother either in the church or at home. Without her mother it is impossible for her to exist and to function. Mary's solidarity with the mother is the *sine qua non* for her survival because there is nobody else she can fall back on. Her mother is everything to her: her parent, her sister, her relative, her friend, and her religious teacher. In other words, the mother becomes the sole being with whom Mary shares everything. As a permanent presence in Mary's life, her mother remains a constant influence. Her values, her standards, and her doctrines permeate Mary's vision of the world and society. Her advice and her admonitions determine Mary's decisions and actions, the most important of which is to avoid marriage. She says to Mary:

If you take a husband you will have to abandon me. After falling into such a difficult situation, I will moan for you, and you will find yourself in affliction and sin [...]. But if you listen to me and preserve your virginity we will serve God without any distraction, and we will earn the eternal grace.¹⁸ (II.8)

It is obvious that the fundamental purpose of the widow's upbringing is the protection of Mary's chastity through which a common life with her daughter is secured and their bond is strengthened.

This strong mother-daughter relationship is disturbed by Anthemios's sudden and unexpected appearance in the two women's common life. Anthemios's entrance into the narrative through his determination to marry Mary has as a result the creation of a rivalry between the hero and the widow, which finds its full expression in a dream sent to the widow by the magician. She describes her dream to her daughter in the following words:

I dreamt that this evil man [Anthemios] had taken you, and he wanted to drag you away from me. And I was reacting and fighting against him holding you,

¹⁷ For the relations between mothers and their biological or spiritual daughters in Syriac hagiography, see Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Sacred Bonding: Mothers and Daughters in Early Syriac Hagiography", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4.1 (1996), 27-56.

¹⁸ The translation is mine.

and adjuring him before God and the saints to depart from us. But he would not go away (II.5)

Obviously the widow sees Anthemios as her antagonist because his wish to marry her daughter threatens her own relationship with her. A possible relationship between Mary and Anthemios would pull her away from her mother and would terminate the widow's control over her own daughter. The more the widow tries to prevent Anthemios from getting his hands on her daughter, the more he wants to make Mary his own. What makes Mary even more attractive and desirable to her suitor is the very fact that her virginity is a forbidden fruit. Thus the only thing that Anthemios has in mind is how to obtain Mary. It is towards this end that he directs all his actions. The rest of Mary's story focuses on Anthemios's attempts to bring the heroine to his bed. By becoming the center of both the widow's and Anthemios's attention, Mary's chastity also becomes the focal point of her story which commences with the issue of virginity and ends with it.

Virginity in the *Life of Mary of Antioch* is not just the kernel around which the narrative unfolds, the element that determines the main characters' relationships and actions, or simply a Christian ideal leading to holiness. It also functions as a means allowing women to exist socially and to create their own space, free from the roles imposed on them by their patriarchal societies. By initiating Mary into the practice of virginity and by choosing to lead a chaste life herself, the widow creates for both herself and her daughter a life of freedom from male control, marriage, childbearing and childrearing. This way of life, which undermines social order, is not just deemed positive, it also leads to holiness. If our hagiographer's intended audience was laypeople, and in particular laywomen, Mary's way of life would, on the one hand, have provided them with an example of appropriate female behavior, and on the other, it might have mirrored contemporary laywomen's wish for more freedom of movement and less male control in their lives.¹⁹ In order for the hagiographer to achieve these two purposes, offering an imitable example of female piety and satisfying the aspirations of his audience, he had to create an uncommon hagiographical heroine and an unusual yet highly interesting text.

¹⁹ For the freedom that Christian practices offered to women, see Elizabeth A. Clark, "Ascetic Renunciation and Feminine Advancement: a Paradox of Late Ancient Christianity", *Anglican Theological Review* 63 (1981), 240-257, repr. in *eadem*, *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Ancient Christianity* [Studies in women and religion, 3] (Lewiston, NY, 1986), 175-208.

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The Sabaitic Collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*

Britt Dahlman

The study of the collections of *Apophthegmata Patrum* (AP), or the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, has since the early 20th century become an expansive field of research. The collections are regarded as some of the most important literary sources for early monasticism. They preserve what is presented as sayings, short dialogues and narratives of the fourth and fifth-century Egyptian desert fathers and mothers. The material is organized into two main forms — alphabetically according to the names of the desert fathers and mothers, and systematically according to themes. Collections organized alphabetically are usually combined with a systematic (thematic) part with anonymous sayings arranged according to subject, and traditionally referred to as alphabetical-anonymous. However, due to the complexity of the redactions, compilations and versions, which exist in a wide variety of languages, we still lack many basic editions or have to rely on insufficient ones. Thus there is a great need for more research on the relationships and sources, as well as for modern critical editions. There is also a great need for studies of the individual sayings and stories, which must be studied separately. There are often different redactions of the same saying or story, and one cannot assume that one and the same (old) collection always gives the best text. Therefore studies and productions of critical editions of later, previously ignored, collections, are also of great importance.

One of those little known collections is the one which was called “Sabaitic” by Jean-Claude Guy in his important study of the manuscript tradition of the AP.¹ He named it so because the oldest dated Greek manuscript containing this collection is Parisinus gr. 1598, which was copied in 1071/1072 by a scribe named John at the monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine (Mar Saba). Guy believed that this collection was created later than the great alphabetical and systematical ones. Because of its composite nature, it is more of a monastic compilation than a pure collection of AP and, as such, a

¹ Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum*, 2^e édition avec des compléments [Subsidia hagiographica, 36] (Bruxelles, 1984), 221. Guy’s description of the collection is on pp. 221–230.

witness of the evolution of the genre of AP, which was developed in the Middle Ages into monastic florilegia such as the *Synagoge* by Paul Evergetinos. Guy thought it was of little value for the textual tradition of the AP with the exception of the nominal apophthegmata.² But what he did not realize was that much of its material is transmitted in a very old textual tradition.

There is a Syriac MS, Sinaiticus syr. 46, written as early as 534, which contains a very old collection of AP.³ The relationship between this collection and the Sabaitic one was recognized by Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana who has been working on a project studying and editing collections of the AP at the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Patristische Kommission and who is now also affiliated with the Università di Bologna. The relationship between both collections was established with the help of Michel van Esbroeck who was asked by Faraggiana to make a description of the old Syriac collection. Van Esbroeck's accurate concordance table (completed in January 1996), with a French translation of a selection of the most significant apophthegmata in Sinait. syr. 46, is kept at the Patristische Kommission in Göttingen.⁴ Thus Faraggiana has emphasized the importance of the Sabaitica for the study of the textual history of the AP.⁵ Unfortunately no edition exists, but for each MS listed below, except Londin. Burney 50 and Mosq. Synod. gr. 490, there is an index of the apophthegmata — with references to the *loca parallela* in other AP collections or elsewhere — which is kept in the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Author of the index is Faraggiana in collaboration with Sebastian Their; it was made possible also thanks to René Draguet's photographic material, which in 1994 was generously consigned to the Patristische Kommission for the project on the AP.⁶

² Guy, 221, 228–229.

³ An edition of this Syriac collection was one of Michel van Esbroeck's projects when he suddenly died in November 2003; it is now being carried out by Prof. Bo Holmberg within the research programme "Early Monasticism and Classical *Paideia*", which began in 2009 at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University.

⁴ The research programme in Lund (see above, note 3) has initiated a collaboration between Lund, Göttingen and Bologna, thanks to which, as of September 2009, a copy of van Esbroeck's inedited material is also in the possession of Lund University.

⁵ See the abstract of her annual report (as recorded by Ekkehard Mühlenberg) in *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen für das Jahr 1996* (Göttingen, 1998), 294.

⁶ In connection with a workshop on *Apophthegmata Patrum* in Göttingen in September 2009, I had access to the microfilms and all the other material in the care of the Patristische Kommission. For this I am most grateful to Prof. Ekkehard Mühlenberg and Dr. Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana. For information on this workshop, which was part of the research programme mentioned above (see n. 3), see Samuel Rubenson, "Workshop der „Patristischen Kommission" der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. The Transmission of the Apophthegmata Patrum in the Languages of Early Christianity, 21. September–23. September 2009, Göttingen", *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 2009* (Göttingen, 2010), 568–576.

The Sabaitic collection consists of varied material, both nominal and anonymous, of various origins and dates. The nominal apophthegmata are placed in alphabetical order by name of the desert fathers and mothers as in other alphabetical collections. Here, however, the anonymous series is not placed after the alphabetical one; rather, anonymous apophthegmata are incorporated in the alphabetical series at the end of each alphabetical chapter. Another characteristic is the composite character of the collection. Compared to the older alphabetical and systematical collections, it contains longer narratives and extracts from monastic works such as the *Pratum Spirituale* by John Moschos, the tales by Anastasios the Sinaite, the *vitae* by Cyril of Scythopolis, the *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladios, the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* and many others. It also contains much more material associated with monastic figures in Palestine than in other known AP collections.⁷

Further, some well-known fathers as well as one mother who are found in many other collections are missing; for example, Evagrius (although extracts from his work *De oratione* are transmitted under the name of Neilos), Basileios, Gregory the Theologian, Epiphanius, Theophilos the Archbishop of Alexandria, and Syncletica. Moreover, apart from three instances (Ammonas 4, Benjamin 2 and Helladios 1) there is no mention of the place-name Kellia. The fathers associated with this place, viz. Apollo, Isaac, the presbyter of Kellia, John of Kellia, and James in Kellia, who is mentioned in the apophthegmata of Phocas, are all absent.⁸ Why are they missing? In some cases it is most likely for dogmatical reasons, as for example in the case of Evagrius.⁹ In the case of Syncletica it is clearly because the monastery already had the work from which the apophthegmata were excerpted.¹⁰ Guy also noted that many of the normally anonymous apophthegmata are included in the alphabetical chapters and here attributed to a father.¹¹

These are the five manuscripts that have up to now been identified as containing this collection:

⁷ Guy, 221.

⁸ Guy, 228.

⁹ It could be noted, that in the systematical collection edited by Guy (GS), Evagrius' name is missing but not all his apophthegmata in contrast to the old Latin systematical collection called PJ after the redactors Pelagius and John where Evagrius is still correctly attributed to his apophthegmata. Evagrius' name is also present in the unpublished Greek MS Parisinus gr. 2474, which is of PJ-type (stage a). For this MS, see Guy, 188–190, and Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, "Nota sul rapporto l'Ambr. L 120 Sup. e la più antica tradizione dei detti dei padri del deserto", *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s., 39 (2002), 55–57.

¹⁰ See below, n. 21.

¹¹ Guy, 228–229.

Athos Karakallou 38 (Lampros 1551), dating by Lampros: 13th c.¹²

Parisinus gr. 1598, an. 1071/1072¹³

Londinensis Brit. Libr. Burney 50, an. 1361/1362¹⁴

Mosquensis Synod. gr. 190 (Vladimir 346) + *Mosquensis Synod. gr.* 490 (Vlad. 347), dating by Vladimir: 12th c.¹⁵

Sinaiticus gr. 1608, dating by Benešević: 14th c.¹⁶

The first three manuscripts *Athos Karakallou* 38, *Par. gr.* 1598, and *Londin. Burney* 50 are described by Guy.¹⁷ The fact that also *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 190 and *Sinait. gr.* 1608 transmit the collection was established by René Draguet in his unpublished material about the AP textual tradition. Concerning *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 490, it originally formed a codicological unit together with *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 190.¹⁸

The contents of the MSS are listed below in Table 1. *Athos Karakallou* 38 has a title, a prologue, the first part of the Sabaitic collection containing the letters *Alpha* to *Lambda*, and then a section of *varia monastica*, i.e. various hagiographical works.

¹² Spyridon P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 1 (Cambridge, 1895), 132.

¹³ Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des départements*, 2 (Paris, 1888), 101–102; *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis*, ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani et Henri Omont [Subsidia hagiographica, 5] (Bruxelles & Paris, 1896), 274; François Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique* [Subsidia hagiographica, 44] (Bruxelles, 1968), 222.

¹⁴ *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum. New Series*, vol. I, part II: *The Burney Manuscripts* (London, 1840), 15–18; *Summary Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts [in the British Library]*, vol. 1 (London: British Library, 1999), 37.

¹⁵ A. Vladimir, *Sistematičeskoe opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodalnoj Biblioteki*, 1: *Rukopisi grečeskija* (Moscow, 1894), 506–508. B. L. Fonkič & F. B. Poliakov, *Grečeskie rukopisi Sinodalnoj Biblioteki* (Moscow, 1993), 115, claim the 13th–14th centuries.

¹⁶ V. Benešević, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio S. Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur*, vol. III, pars I: *Codices numeris 1224–2150 signati* (St Petersburg, 1917), 77.

¹⁷ Guy, 222–223.

¹⁸ I am grateful to Dr. André Binggeli, Paris, who noted that the MSS, according to the catalogues by Vladimir and Fonkič & Poliakov, have exactly the same codicological characteristics, and that *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 490 contains the letters *epsilon* to *iota* of a AP collection. When studying the two MSS, I found that *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 190 lacked the folios (fasc. ζ'–ιδ') containing the letters *epsilon* to *iota*, which were contained in *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 490. I also wish to thank Faraggiana for her helpful comments on this matter. *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 190 is mutilated at the beginning and end, and the folios are in disorder. To make it even more complicated, the scribe copied his exemplar from a Vorlage, the folios of which were in disorder and sometimes missing (as for example, f. 3r, line 10, where the text breaks off and continues at f. 8r, line 2, and f. 45r, line 22, where the text breaks off, and another text begins mutilated at line 23), making it difficult to reconstruct the order of the text.

Table 1. Comparison of the manuscripts of the Sabaitic AP collection

<i>Athos Karakallou</i> 38	f. 1r-2r: Prologue	f. 1r-142v: A-Λ	f. 143r-213v: <i>varia monastica</i>
<i>Par. gr.</i> 1598		f. 1r-172r: Title of book 2; N-Ω	f. 172r-303r: <i>varia monastica</i>
<i>Londin. Burney</i> 50	V. 1, f. 2r-5r: Triple prologue	V. 1, f. 5v-165v: A-K V. 2, f. 1r-165v: K-Ω	V. 2, f. 168r- 179r: <i>Vita Marci Atheniensis</i>
<i>Mosq. Synod. gr.</i> 190 + 490		<i>Mosq. 190:</i> f. 1r-42v: A-D + <i>Mosq. 490:</i> f. 1r-64v: E-I <i>Mosq. 190:</i> f. 43r-201v: K-Ω	<i>Mosq. 190:</i> f. 201v-255v: <i>varia monastica</i>
<i>Sin. gr.</i> 1608		f. 1r-133v: A-T (<i>inc. et des.</i> <i>mutil.</i>)	

Par. gr. 1598 contains the second book of the collection containing the letters *nu* to *omega* beginning with the title: ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ β' βιβλίου τοῦ παραδείσου τῶν πατέρων, ἀρχομένον ἀπὸ τοῦ γράμματος τοῦ ν ("The beginning with God of the second book of the fathers' paradise, beginning from the letter *nu*"). The dossier of *varia monastica* does not contain the same material as in the Athos MS.

This Paris MS is, as previously stated, the oldest dated MS (it remains to be proved that Athos Karakallou 38 is not contemporary). It was copied in 1071/1072 by a scribe named John at the St. Sabas' monastery in Palestine, as mentioned above. The colophon (f. 303r) says: "Since the Paterikon of our monastery of the holy father Saint Saba was getting very old, my holy fathers talked to me about him (it?), insignificant though I am. Since, for his soul's salvation, our most esteemed lord abbot, Joannikios, was committed to writing on [Saint Saba's] death, I undertook this work. I gathered together the *Paterika* of other monasteries and examined them to the best of my ability; I arranged them in alphabetical order making them into two books, twelve letters in one and twelve letters in the other. You who use this book, pray for our lord and master, the most devout monk the lord Joannikios, for it was through his diligence and initiative that this was accomplished. Year

6580 from the creation of the world, in the 10th indiction. Pray also for me, John the monk and elder, who wrote it. Glory to God. Amen.”¹⁹

Guy believed that this explanation of the scribe how he made the paterikon indicated that this manuscript was the prototype of the Sabaitic collection.²⁰ This claim has been rejected by Faraggiana, who has shown that the scribe must have copied the text from his *Vorlage*.²¹ But what about the words in the colophon describing the division of the collection into “two books, twelve letters in one and twelve letters in the other”? The division into two books could be the invention of the scribe but does not reflect the creation of the Sabaitic collection as such. The collection is much older. Possibly it is to be identified with the “*Paterikon* of our monastery of the holy father Saint Saba”, which “was getting very old”, as the scribe says.

The text of the collection as it is preserved in the three later manuscripts, the London, Moscow and Sinai MSS, constitutes a second stage. The London MS contains a complete Sabaitic collection, transmitting more material than the Athos and Paris MSS but also omitting several apophthegmata. The second stage is indicated by the text of several apophthegmata and especially by the fact that some of the material, which is found in the dossiers of *varia monastica*, which are placed after the Sabaitica in the Athos and Paris MSS, is incorporated in the Sabaitica of the London, Moscow and Sinai MSS.²² The Sinai MS contains an abridged collection.

¹⁹ Translation (modified by me) in *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*. Translated with a foreword by Benedicta Ward. Revised ed. [Cistercian Studies Series, 59] (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1984), xxviii. Greek text in Par. gr. 1598, f. 303r: Διὰ τὸ παλαιωθῆναι πολὺ τὸ Πατερικὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα, ἐλάλησαν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ μου οἱ ἅγιοί μου πατέρες περὶ αὐτοῦ. καταβαλόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτου ἔξοδον ὁ τιμιώτατος δεσπότης ἡμῶν κύριος Ἰωαννίκιος ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας, ἀνελαβόμεν τὸν τοιοῦτον κόπον· καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μοναστηρίων τὰ Πατερικὰ ἐπισωρεύσας καὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν μοι ἔρευναν ποιησάμενος καὶ συντάξας αὐτὰ κατὰ ἀλφάβητον, δύο βίβλους ἐποίησα, τὰ μὲν δώδεκα γράμματα εἰς τὸ ἓν, καὶ τὰ δώδεκα εἰς τὸ ἕτερον. οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν δεσπότης καὶ εὐλαβεστάτου μοναχοῦ κυρίου Ἰωαννικίου· σπουδῇ γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ προθυμίᾳ ἐγένοντο· ἔτους ςϞπ' Ἰνδικτιῶνος ι'. εὐχεσθε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ γράψαντος μοναχοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ γέροντος. δόξα τῷ Θεῷ. ἀμήν.

²⁰ Guy, 222.

²¹ At the end of the letter *sigma* there is written (fol. 144v): Τέλος σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ ζ. Τὰ κεφάλαια τῆς Συγκλητικῆς ἐγράφησαν ἔμπροσθεν εἰς τὸν διὰ πλάτους αὐτῆς βίον (“End of [the letter] *sigma* with God. The chapters of Syncletica have been written before, in her widely [written] *vita*”). Syncletica’s apophthegmata are missing in this MS and in all MSS containing the Sabaitic collection. Here it is implied that the author wrote this note to explain why he has omitted Syncletica’s apophthegmata, viz. because they were already included in the *Vita Syncleticae*. The scribe cannot be the author of this note, because in this MS the *Vita Syncleticae* is not copied *before* the Sabaitic AP collection, but *after* it in the section of *varia monastica*; see Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*: Some Crucial Points of their Textual Transmission and the Problem of a Critical Edition”, in *Studia Patristica* 29 (Leuven, 1997), 460, n. 21.

²² The incorporation of material from a small collection into a larger one is found in several AP collections, as for example in the case of the so called derived alphabetical-anonymous

When was the Sabaitic collection created? From the text of the prologue and from many of the apophthegmata it seems likely that it was compiled later than the old alphabetical-anonymous collection (*alph.-anon. vetus*), as this is represented in the three MSS, Vat. gr. 2592, Par. gr. 1596 and Venet. Marc. II.70, as well as later than the old and “normal” systematical collections (AP/PJ+GS), but before the “normal” alphabetical-anonymous collection as edited by Cotelier (AP/G) and Nau (AP/GN).²³ Since it contains material from the *Pratum Spirituale* by John Moschos, who died in Rome (or in Constantinople?) in 619 or 634,²⁴ we have a *terminus post quem*.

Guy observed that the anonymous apophthegmata of the Sabaitica, which is an alphabetical collection, were principally derived from the anonymous material of the “normal” systematical collection (GS).²⁵ However, this dependence on GS can also be seen in the text of a number of nominal apophthegmata and in the prologue.

The prologue to the Sabaitica is only preserved in the Athos MS.²⁶ The title preceding the prologue is [Πρόλογος τῆς] βίβλου τῶν γερόντων ὁ λεγόμενος παρά[δεισ]ος (“Prologue of the Book of the fathers, which is called the Paradise”). This is the same title and the same prologue (with some minor differences) as is also preceding GS.²⁷ This prologue is found

collection (which Guy called “la collection alphabético-anonyme dérivée du type systématique”), which is transmitted in two stages; see Britt Dahlman, *Saint Daniel of Sketis. A Group of Hagiographic Texts Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* [Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 10] (Uppsala, 2007), 93–94.

²³ I am indebted to Faraggiana for this statement. For the old alphabetical-anonymous AP collection, see Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, “Il *paterikon* Vat. gr. 2592, già di Mezzoiuso, e il suo rapporto testuale con lo *Hieros. S. Sepulchri* gr. 113”, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 47 (1993), 79–96, and Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 460. For editions of the collections AP/PJ, GS, G and GN, see the bibliography.

²⁴ According to the prologue to the *Pratum Spirituale*, the remains of John Moschos came to Jerusalem “at the beginning of the eighth indiction”, i.e. either in September 619 or in September 634. For the view that John Moschos went to Rome and died there in 619, see Henry Chadwick, “John Moschus and his friend Sophronius the sophist”, *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 25 (1974), 41–74. For the view that he went to New Rome, i.e. Constantinople, and died there in 634, see Keetje Rozemond, “Jean Mosch, Patriarche de Jérusalem en exil (614–634)”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (1977), 60–67. Enrica Follieri, “Dove e quando morì Giovanni Mosco?”, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neolllenici*, n.s., 25 (1988), 3–39, believes that he died between 620 and 634 in Constantinople. This place of death has been dismissed by Andrew Louth, “Did Moschus really die in Constantinople?”, *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 49 (1998), 149–154.

²⁵ Guy, 227–228.

²⁶ The three prologues in Londin. Burney 50 are quite different and certainly not original. They are first a dossier of 28 iambic verses (entitled Στίχοι δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν τὸ βιβλίον λειμονάριον καλεῖται), then an extract from Pseudo-Ephraim, and third the prologue to the *Pratum Spirituale* by John Moschos.

²⁷ The Sabaitic prologue is not the same as the long prologue, which precedes the two derived collections, which are called by Guy “la collection systématique dérivée du type alphabético-

already in Par. gr. 2474, which contains the old Greek systematical collection of the PJ-type (stage a), although only the second half of the prologue is preserved.²⁸ In GS it is edited from MSS containing the youngest stage (c). The prologue to the Sabaitic collection is very similar: the main differences are that it omits both the description of the contents of the systematical collection, §8:1-8 in GS, and the list of chapters which concludes the systematical collection, §11:2-28 in GS. As can be seen in Table 2, the list is not found in Par. gr. 2474 either. However, the prologue to the Sabaitica does not end the way you would expect — the last sentence is: “The chapters are the following”, but no list of chapters follows! The Sabaitic prologue is clearly dependent on the one in GS.

Table 2. Comparison of prologues

<i>AP/PJ gr.</i> : Par. gr. 2474, f. 1v: Prol.	<i>AP/GS</i> : Prol. §10-11:2	<i>AP/sab.</i> : Athous, Karakallou 38, f. 2r: Prol.
Τελευτᾷ δὲ τὸ πᾶν βιβλίον εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν κεφάλαια δέκα, ²⁹ κόσμον τε ἐμποιοῦντα τῷ τέλει καὶ ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν ἔργον ἐκδιδάσκοντα.	Τελευτᾷ δὲ τὸ πᾶν βιβλίον εἰς τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀποφθέγματα κόσμον τε ἐμποιοῦντα τῷ τέλει καὶ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν ἔργον ἐκδιδά- σκοντα. <u>Τὰ δὲ κεφάλαιά</u> <u>ἐστι τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα</u> · —Παραίνεσις ἀγίων πα- τέρων εἰς προκοπὴν τε- λειότητος· κτλ.	Τελευτᾷ τὸ πᾶν βιβλίον εἰς τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀποφθέγματα, κό[σμον] τ[ε] ἐνποιοῦντας τῷ τέλει καὶ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν ἔργον ἐκδι- δάσκοντα. <u>Τ[ὰ δὲ] κε-</u> <u>φάλαιά εἰσι τὰ ὑποτε-</u> <u>ταγμέν<α> αὐτά</u> ·

anonyme” and “la collection alphabético-anonyme dérivée du type systématique”, something which Guy erroneously claimed; see Guy, 204 with n. 1, 218, 223.

²⁸ See above, n. 9.

²⁹ For the interesting fact that the words τὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν κεφάλαια δέκα together with other MSS witnesses indicate that the old systematical AP collection was concluded by two units attributed to Abba Moses: 7 κεφάλαια (*Capitula septem abbatibus Moysi*, in: AP/PJ lat. XXI, *Patrologia Latina* 73, 1014C–1015D) and the περὶ ἀρετῶν κεφάλαια δέκα, see Faraggiana, “*Apophthegmata Patrum*”, 466–467.

The whole book is concluded by the ten chapters on the virtues, which make a final adornment and with knowledge teach the work of the monks.

The whole book is concluded by the apophthegmata of the fathers, which make a final adornment and in short teach the work of the monks. The chapters are the following:
—The holy fathers' advice for the progress in perfection etc.

The whole book is concluded by the apophthegmata of the fathers, which make a final adornment and in short teach the work of the monks. The chapters are the following:

Concerning the anonymous material of the Sabaitica, this, as stated above, is not placed after the alphabetical series, but these anonymous apophthegmata are incorporated in the alphabetical series at the end of each alphabetical chapter. In the systematical collection there is a similar order: within each chapter the nominal material is placed first in alphabetical order with the anonymous material then placed at the end. The dependence on GS can be seen both in respect of the order of the anonymous material and in the text of a number of apophthegmata which have preserved a more original or a different text than the corresponding one found in AP/G+GN. Guy gives a concordance list of the anonymous material and its equivalents in GN and GS in *Londin. Burney* 50.³⁰ However, his list contains many errors (mainly in the GS column). Here follows a list of the anonymous material, which usually is preceded by titles such as Ἀποφθέγματα πατέρων ἁγίων or Λόγοι ἁγίων γερόντων ἁγίων, and the correspondences in GS (or in other works when absent in GS),³¹ as it is found in the alphabetical chapters of Athos Karakallou 38:

α: I.29, 31, 34, II.29, XIX.19, XVI.28, 27, IV.71

β: III.38, 42, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51, N581, XV.119, 129, N641, ?

γ: IV.63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 85, VII.53

δ: V.15, 16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, BHG 1449i, N43

ε: V.27, 28, VI.20, V.21, VI.23, 24, V.31, 32, 34, 35

³⁰ Guy, 224–227.

³¹ The numbers are quoted according to the system by Guy, i.e. in GS the Roman numbers refer to chapters, in GN the numbers of the apophthegmata are preceded by the letter N. BHG refers to *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. François Halkin, 3rd ed., 1–3 [Subsidia hagiographica, 8a] (Bruxelles, 1957); *idem*, *Novum auctarium* [Subsidia hagiographica, 65] (Bruxelles, 1984).

ζ: V.36, 38, VI.25, 26, V.39, 40, 41, 42, 44

η: VII.29, N193a+VII.33, 35, 41, 44, 45, 48, 49

θ: II.15, VII.50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, VIII.31

ι: IX.16, 18, X.24, 110, 112, 113, 116, 118, 120 (= N252a), 125, 143, 144, 147

κ: X.155, 156, 150, 163, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175

λ: X.188, 191, XI.80, 90, 101, 102, 109, 110, 114, 115, 117, 118, 121

The dependence on GS concerning the order of the anonymous material can be seen in two ways: first, the apophthegmata from the GS chapters are distributed in the same alphabetical chapter (although with some problematic exceptions): apophthegmata from chapter I and II are found in chapter *alpha*, from chapter III in chapter *beta*, from chapter IV in chapter *gamma* and so on; second, the apophthegmata within each alphabetical chapter are arranged in order.

But how are we to understand the exceptions in the order of the anonymous apophthegmata? Why has the compiler of the collection mixed up some of the apophthegmata from different GS chapters, as for example XIX.19, XVI.28, 27, IV.71 in ch. *alpha*, XV.119, 129 in ch. *beta*, and II.15 in ch. *theta*? We must consider the dependence on GS as partial. GS is just *one* of the sources; there is reason to believe that material from GS and the prologue have been added at a later stage in the transmission. The connection with the Syriac collection in Sinait. syr. 46 shows that the earliest stage of the Sabaitica must have been very old. Let us consider, for example, the *incipit* of N 291. In the Sabaitica this apophthegma is not anonymous but is attributed to Abba Moses: Ἀδελφὸς ὑπάγων εἰς θέρος παρέβαλε τῷ ἁββᾶ Μωϋσῇ. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἁββᾶς Μωϋσῆς: Ἐάν σοι εἶπω, πείθει μοι; (“A brother was preparing to go to the harvest and he went to see Abba Moses. Abba Moses said to him: ‘If I tell you, will you believe me?’”, Mosq. Synod. gr. 190, f. 163v). This is also the case in Sinait. syr. 46, f. 34r: “Un frère de Scété quand il allait à la moisson se rendit chez le père Moïse le noire et lui dit: ‘Dis-moi ce que je dois faire pour aller à la moisson.’”³²

Concerning the text of the individual apophthegmata, examples where the redaction in the Sabaitica and GS clearly differs from the one in GN are: ch. *alpha* I.31 (N253), ch. *beta* III.38 (N135), ch. *gamma* IV.64 (N148), 66 (N161), 67 (N373), and ch. *delta* V.16 (N164), where there is an addition in the Sabaitica + GS. Two examples where the text of the Sabaitica has an addition not found in neither GS nor GN are ch. *iota* X.112 (N216), and ch.

³² Unpublished translation by van Esbroeck. The attribution to Moses in the Sabaitica was pointed out already by Guy, 229.

kappa X.155 (N232). Another fact that shows this partial dependence is that there are several apophthegmata among the anonymous ones that are only found in GS and not in GN.³³ However, there are also some apophthegmata only found in GN.

Turning to the nominal apophthegmata, it is not possible to give here a comparison table due to shortage of space, but it is clear that a relationship between the Sabaitica and GS in terms of the arrangement of the material is not as obvious as in the case of the anonymous apophthegmata. However, the (partial) dependence can be seen in the text of a number of nominal apophthegmata. In many cases they have preserved a different text, and sometimes probably a more original text than the corresponding one found in G. I will give just one interesting example:

Table 3. Comparison of the text of AP/G: Mios 2

AP/GS: XV.47	AP/sab.: Par. gr. 1598, f. 18v, Olympios	AP/G: Mios 2
Ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ὀλυμπίου εἰς Σκήτιν, ὅτι ἀπὸ δούλων ἦν· καὶ ἦρχετο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν φέρων τὴν μισθοφορίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτοῦ.	Ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ὀλυμπίου εἰς Σκήτιν, ὅτι ἀπὸ δούλων ἦν· καὶ ἦρχετο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν φέρων τὴν μισθοφορίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτοῦ.	Εἶπε πάλιν περὶ <u>τινος γέροντος</u> , ὅτι ἦν ἐν τῇ Σκήτει· ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ δούλων· ἐγένετο δὲ διακριτικὸς σφόδρα. Καὶ ἦρχετο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, φέρων τὴν μισθοφορίαν τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτοῦ.
They said about Abba <u>Olympios</u> at Sketis, that he had been a slave. And every year he went to Alexandria taking his wages to his masters.	They said about Abba <u>Olympios</u> at Sketis, that he had been a slave. And every year he went to Alexandria taking his wages to his masters.	[Mios] also said about <u>an elder</u> who was at Sketis, that he had been a slave, and he had become a true reader of hearts. And every year he went to Alexandria taking his wages to his masters.

As can be seen in Table 3, both GS and the Sabaitica attribute this apophthegma to Olympios, while in G this abba, the former slave, is anonymous and the saying is related by Abba Mios. This apophthegma (as well as the one corresponding to N 291 mentioned above) is also a confirmation of the

³³ Guy (227–228) notes that Par. gr. 1598 contains 23 anonymous apophthegmata, which are not found in Burney 50, 12 of which appear in both GS and GN, and the rest only in GS.

importance of the history of the *incipit* for the study of the textual history of the AP.

As stated above, Guy also noted that many of the anonymous apophthegmata are included in the alphabetical chapters and attributed to a father. Guy gives a list of 50 apophthegmata found in the normal anonymous series partly edited by Nau or in GS, which are nominal in the Sabaitica. Some of these have equivalent texts in other unpublished Greek or in Syriac, Georgian and Latin collections. The case of N 291 has already been mentioned. Even if perhaps not all of them contain a clearly more original incipit, this shows how important the Sabaitica is concerning much of the individual material.

Thus we can conclude that:

1. The Sabaitic collection is preserved in five Greek manuscripts, and one of them, Mosq. Synod. gr. 190, has turned out to have originally formed a codicological unit together with what is now the MS Mosq. Synod. gr. 490.
2. Three MSS, Londin. Burney 50, Mosq. Synod. gr. 190+490, and Sinait. gr. 1608, transmit a second stage in the textual tradition.
3. The collection, in the form in which it is known to us through both of the stages preserved in Greek, was compiled after 619 (or 634), but before 1071/1072.
4. One of the sources of the collection was the “normal” systematical collection (GS), as is demonstrated by the prologue and the texts of both alphabetical and anonymous apophthegmata. However, the Sabaitica has also preserved apophthegmata which are transmitted in a very old textual tradition.
5. What we really need is an edition of the Sabaitic collection — an edition which carefully respects the different stages and does not mix them together, preferably a synoptic one.³⁴

³⁴ An earlier version of this paper was presented at a workshop on “Education and Literary Production in Early Palestinian Monasticism”, February, 24–25, 2010, at Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I wish to thank Dr. Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, Prof. Samuel Rubenson, Dr. Lillian Larsen, and the participants of the Patristic Seminar in Lund for having suggested many important improvements.

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“Tout d’un coup” : l’épiphanie masquée dans les recueils de miracles de l’Antiquité tardive

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Pour les croyants de l’Antiquité, païens et chrétiens indifféremment, il existe derrière les apparences de ce bas monde un monde surnaturel, habituellement invisible, mais qui parfois se donne à voir comme si on levait le rideau d’une scène de théâtre ; mais ce qui apparaît alors n’est pas conçu comme une illusion¹, mais au contraire comme une vérité supérieure à notre monde, qui l’englobe, le fonde et en donne les vraies clés. Comment se présentent l’irruption de l’autre monde dans le nôtre, sa coprésence dans ce dernier – avec souvent un sentiment troublant de familiarité –, et enfin son départ ? Cet article s’intéressera aux cas nombreux d’épiphanie masquée qu’on ne comprend comme tels que par la fin brutale de l’apparition, “tout d’un coup”, alors que son commencement n’attirait pas l’attention du ou des témoins. Comme le dédicataire de ce recueil le sait bien, ce n’est pas toujours le cas : son saint favori, Théodore de Sykéôn, a toujours des visions parfaitement claires de Côme et Damien, Georges ou la Vierge, et il faut chercher la vision d’un laïc pour deviner une certaine obscurité².

¹ On connaît au moins une exception remarquable, Anastase le Sinaïte vers 700 ap. J.-C. qui soutient que, sans être mensongères par leur contenu, les apparitions des saints sont en fait agencées par des anges comme dans un théâtre, puisque les âmes des saints attendent la résurrection finale et ne peuvent donc se montrer avec un corps : *Anastasii Sinaitae quaestiones et responsiones*. Éd. M. Richard et J. Munitiz [CCSG, 59] (Turnhout, 2006), quaestio 19, 33. On sait que le prêtre Eustratios de Constantinople s’opposait déjà au VI^e s. à une idée analogue : *Eustratii presbyteri Constantinopolitani De statu animarum post mortem*. Éd. P. Van Deun [CCSG, 60] (Turnhout, 2006). Voir G. Dagron, “L’ombre d’un doute : l’hagiographie en question”, *DOP* 46 (1992), 59-68.

² *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*. Éd. A.-J. Festugière [Subsidia hagiographica, 48] (Bruxelles, 1970), ch. 78 : quand Théodore doit quitter l’évêché d’Anastasioupolis, un laïc de la ville rêve qu’un astre se tient au-dessus d’elle, puis part tout d’un coup — et il comprend alors qu’il s’agit de Théodore.

En effet, on entend habituellement par épiphanie l'apparition sensible d'une divinité aux humains, qu'on imagine comme fulgurance d'une aveuglante évidence, mais on constate en réalité que, dès Homère, l'épiphanie est loin d'être simple et univoque : le dieu est souvent déguisé, ou n'est reconnu que par certains témoins privilégiés en restant ignoré des autres. Je propose, faute de mieux, de parler d'épiphanie masquée pour caractériser l'apparition d'une personne divine déguisée ou du moins non reconnue au départ, ou encore l'apparition d'un simple mortel sous un jour nouveau, qu'on ne peut expliquer que par une intervention divine : au moment de la révélation finale, les règles ordinaires de la vie humaine sont suspendues par une brusque déchirure de la continuité, qui crée chez les assistants le *thambos*, la peur devant une puissance écrasante contre qui on ne peut lutter, mais que souvent on a du mal à identifier. Dieu se faisant passer pour un simple mortel, ou simple mortel porteur d'une forme d'élection divine ? Illusion ou vérité ? Quand Ulysse revient à Ithaque, c'est sous l'apparence d'un vieux mendiant perclus que lui donne Athéna, et c'est à cette loque humaine que son fils Télémaque accorde l'hospitalité. Le moment venu, Athéna "le touchant de sa baguette d'or... lui rendit sa belle allure et sa jeunesse". On comprend l'effroi de Télémaque : "Quel changement, mon hôte ! A l'instant, je t'ai vu sous d'autres vêtements ! et sous une autre peau ! Serais-tu l'un des dieux, maîtres des champs du ciel !... Du moins, sois-nous propice ; prends en grâce les dons, victime ou vase d'or, que nous voulons t'offrir, et laisse-nous la vie !". Quand Ulysse essaie de le détromper, son fils rétorque : "Non, tu n'es pas mon père Ulysse ! Un dieu m'abuse, afin de redoubler mes pleurs et mes sanglots. Car un simple mortel ne peut trouver en soi le moyen d'opérer de pareils changements : il faut qu'un dieu l'assiste et le fasse, à son gré, ou jeune homme ou vieillard..."³. La crainte de Télémaque se comprend bien si on se réfère aux derniers instants d'Hector, fuyant Achille autour de Troie : pour le livrer à son poursuivant, Athéna prend l'apparence de son frère Déiphobe venant l'assister ; encouragé, Hector fait volte-face et lance en vain sa pique sur Achille. "Il appelle d'un grand cri Déiphobe au bouclier blanc, il demande une longue lance : et Déiphobe n'est plus à ses côtés ! Hector en son cœur comprend, et il dit : 'Hélas ! point de doute, les dieux m'appellent à la mort. Je croyais près de moi avoir le héros Déiphobe. Mais il est dans nos murs : Pallas Athéné m'a joué !'"⁴. Ces apparitions déguisées ne sont pas toujours nuisibles ; dans l'Odyssée, Athéna vient sous les traits d'un homme, Mentor,

³ *Odyssée*, XVI, v. 181-185. La même idée d'un dieu qui cherche à abuser un mortel se retrouve pendant la descente aux Enfers d'Ulysse qui veut embrasser l'ombre de sa mère ; l'ombre, simple simulacre sans consistance, ne peut être étreinte, et Ulysse se plaint : "La noble Perséphone, en suscitant ton ombre, n'a-t-elle donc voulu que redoubler ma peine et mes gémissements ?" (chant XI, v. 213-214).

⁴ *Illiade*, XXII, v. 294-299.

inciter le jeune Télémaque à s’affirmer comme héritier d’Ulysse et l’accompagne longuement jusque chez Nestor à Pylos ; sur quoi, après d’ultimes recommandations au jeune homme, elle s’envole “changée en une orfraie. Le trouble s’empara de tous les Achéens. Étonné d’avoir vu de ses yeux ce prodige, Nestor avait saisi la main de Télémaque et lui disait tout droit : ‘J’ai confiance, ami : tu seras brave et fort, puisque, si jeune encor, les dieux à tes côtés viennent pour te conduire’”⁵. Le trouble est là pour tous les assistants, qui ne comprennent qu’après coup, mais le plus expérimenté, Nestor, sait néanmoins ensuite en tirer un sens de bon augure : cet effet de retardement du sens est une des marques les plus courantes de ces épiphanies, qu’on ne comprend pleinement qu’après leur subite interruption, en un sens toujours trop tard comme Hector.

Dans l’Ancien Testament, on sait que Dieu répugne à se montrer, sauf à Moïse et encore de façon atténuée, de dos⁶ ; l’exception reste la fameuse hospitalité d’Abraham à la chèneiaie de Mambré, recevant trois voyageurs qui sont au moins des messagers de Dieu (Abraham négocie par leur intermédiaire avec Dieu sur le destin de Sodome et Gomorrhe), et qui pour les chrétiens devinrent une des manifestations de la Trinité⁷. Le Nouveau Testament offre des scènes plus caractéristiques et restées célèbres, les apparitions de Jésus après la Résurrection. L’épisode des pèlerins d’Emmaüs⁸ s’ouvre par l’apparition de Jésus à deux disciples qui ne le reconnaissent pas, car “leurs yeux étaient empêchés de le reconnaître” ; inversant le rapport réel (eux sont aveugles et Jésus est dans le vrai), ils commencent par reprocher à Jésus son ignorance du destin de... Jésus, qui ensuite leur explique d’après l’Écriture qu’il fallait au contraire que le Christ souffre avant d’être glorifié ; nouvelle inversion du rapport réel, Jésus feint de continuer seul sa route au soir, et les disciples le retiennent en lui offrant une hospitalité dont il n’a nul besoin pour lui-même, mais pour eux. Au repas du soir, Jésus bénit le pain, le rompt et le leur donne : “Leurs yeux s’ouvrirent et ils le reconnurent... mais il avait disparu de devant eux. Et ils se dirent l’un à l’autre : ‘Notre cœur n’était-il pas tout brûlant au-dedans de nous, quand il nous parlait en chemin et qu’il nous expliquait les Écritures ?’” L’apparition au bord du lac de Tibériade⁹ présente un scénario analogue : les apôtres pêchent en barque, sans succès ; “au lever du jour, Jésus parut sur le rivage, mais les disciples ne savaient pas que c’était lui.” Jésus leur indique où jeter les filets, et la pêche miraculeuse qui en résulte ouvre les yeux au “disciple que Jésus aimait”, Jean, qui reconnaît Jésus et le

⁵ *Odyssée* III, v. 371-376.

⁶ Exode 34, 21-23.

⁷ Genèse 18.

⁸ Luc 24, 19-35.

⁹ Jean 21, 1-8. Contrairement à d’autres épiphanies, Jésus ne disparaît pas après avoir été reconnu, parce que c’est un moment fondateur où il donne à Pierre son mandat de chef de la future Église.

dit à Pierre. Dans les deux cas, le retardement du sens est essentiel : Jésus, d'abord anonyme, n'est reconnu que lorsqu'il accomplit un geste qui est déjà bien connu comme spécifique de lui, la fraction du pain à la Cène ou la pêche miraculeuse, et l'authentification de son identité doit être faite par les disciples pour être crédible.

En revanche, la façon dont le surnaturel vient s'insérer dans le monde terrestre d'abord sans être perçu clairement, comme dans un malentendu, puis se retire tout d'un coup, est commune aux textes homériques et évangéliques ; pensons à une autre épiphanie, celle de l'ange qui vient tirer Pierre de sa prison la nuit, le guide dans les rues, et disparaît d'un seul coup une fois sa mission accomplie¹⁰. R. Lane Fox a bien montré comment l'épiphanie s'inscrit dans une continuité de croyance dans l'antiquité tardive : l'irruption du surnaturel dans le quotidien est une possibilité de tous les instants tant pour les païens que pour les chrétiens¹¹. Il convient néanmoins de souligner une différence avec les épiphanies homériques : dans le monothéisme, Dieu ne peut être trompeur, l'épiphanie retardée n'est agencée que pour mieux éclairer les disciples, aucun ne subit le sort d'Hector – sauf lorsque s'en mêle un autre personnage, le diable¹². L'ignorance temporaire du bénéficiaire de l'épiphanie est pour son bien, elle prend une forme pédagogique ; Jésus n'est pas déguisé comme Ulysse ou Athéna, ce sont les spectateurs qui sont temporairement incapables de le reconnaître, un peu comme Pierre, présent à la Transfiguration, “ne savait que dire” et ne se rendait pas immédiatement compte de la signification du spectacle qu'il avait sous les yeux¹³. Dans tous ces cas, en particulier la Transfiguration, c'est non pas une illusion qui se donne à voir, mais une réalité, et même une réalité supérieure au quotidien, qui le fonde et le rend intelligible : l'épiphanie est le dévoilement de la vraie nature des choses, au-delà d'une réalité quotidienne foncièrement secondaire. Syméon Salos est dans la vie quotidienne un moine mendiant plus ou moins fou à Émèse, mais pour l'unique témoin à l'avoir surpris en prière, le diacre Jean, il reste le saint homme environné d'une aura de feu surnaturel

¹⁰ Actes 12, 6-10 ; jusqu'à ce moment, Pierre croit être dans une vision et non dans la réalité.

¹¹ R. Lane Fox, *Païens et chrétiens* (Toulouse 1997), chap. IV, ‘La vision des dieux’, 109-177.

¹² Car toute une tradition attribue au diable et aux magiciens uniquement le pouvoir de produire des illusions sans consistance (*fantasiai*), que le vrai croyant doit pouvoir dissiper, et non un acte réel ; quand un paysan éploré amène à Macaire sa femme apparemment transformée en jument par un maléfice, les disciples de Macaire sont effarés, et Macaire les rabroue d'avoir des yeux de chevaux, incapables de voir que ce n'est qu'une illusion, “seulement dans les yeux de ceux qui sont abusés” : *Histoire lausiacque*, éd. G. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius* (Cambridge, 1898-1904), 44-46.

¹³ Marc 9, 1-8 ; de façon caractéristique, le récit dérivé chez Matthieu 17, 1-8, omet cette mention de la confusion mentale de Pierre.

“comme un four brûlant”¹⁴, et c’est la vraie nature de Syméon – au moins dans la perspective de l’hagiographe.

Or, un type de texte multiplie des épiphanies d’un type particulier : les recueils de miracles, où le saint censé intervenir en faveur d’un fidèle se manifeste à lui, le plus souvent en rêve, mais pas toujours. Bien entendu, les saints ne sont pas Dieu, mais leur possession d’un pouvoir thaumaturgique assimile leurs apparitions à des épiphanies – on constate d’ailleurs que le Christ, si souvent représenté dans l’art, apparaît aux fidèles relativement rarement à Byzance par rapport à ses saints et à la Vierge. Les cas les plus intéressants sont bien entendu ceux où l’épiphanie est paradoxale parce que, comme pour les pèlerins d’Emmaüs, elle reste incomprise tant qu’elle dure, et aussi parce que le saint qui apparaît y joue souvent un rôle à contre-emploi, apparemment à rebours des attentes du fidèle, mais en fait pour mieux les réaliser. Ainsi, dès le premier miracle des recueils consacrés à Côme et Damien, le scénario multiplie les paradoxes : les saints vont guérir le malade, un hydropique, non pas dans la situation attendue, pendant qu’il fait pieusement l’incubation dans leur sanctuaire, mais lorsque, lassé, il s’en va en se répandant en imprécations contre les saints ; déjà sur le quai et prêt à embarquer pour rentrer chez lui, il est accosté par les saints “sous un autre aspect que leur aspect habituel”, comme de simples passants qui le persuadent de retourner au sanctuaire, l’y portent eux-mêmes et disparaissent mystérieusement¹⁵. La nuit suivante, ils apparaissent enfin au malade, implicitement sous leur apparence habituelle (il les reconnaît), mais en brandissant le bistouri des médecins et en le menaçant d’une opération la plus douloureuse possible, pour le punir de son incrédulité et de ses insultes ; au moment où le malade est au comble de l’angoisse, il se réveille le ventre ouvert, et guérit. Peu importe qu’il s’agisse vraisemblablement d’une guérison spontanée par l’éclatement d’un abcès, puis d’une rationalisation d’un simple rêve lié à la montée de la douleur ; ce qui nous intéresse ici est que le récit que choisissent de retenir le malade et surtout l’auteur du recueil présente les saints au rebours de leur identité reconnue : ils masquent d’abord leur identité, puis feignent d’agir comme des médecins terrestres, avec le fer, alors que les fidèles viennent à eux pour éviter de payer les honoraires des médecins humains, mais aussi de subir la douleur de leurs opérations chirurgicales¹⁶. Pourquoi compliquer ainsi le déroulement ? Manifestement pour

¹⁴ *Vie de Syméon Salos*, éd. L. Rydén, *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* [Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 4] (Uppsala, 1963), 160.

¹⁵ *Miracles de Côme et Damien*, éd. L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1907), 98-101 (mir. 1); traduction française A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, saints Côme et Damien, saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), saint Georges* (Paris, 1971), 98-100.

¹⁶ Des scénarios analogues se retrouvent pour des incubations auprès d’Asklépios dans la Grèce classique et hellénistique : L. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions* (Atlanta, 1995), A3 et A4, 87-88.

faire passer un message aux futurs patients : ne pas douter des saints même et surtout lorsque la guérison tarde ; le retard même de l'intervention des saints trouve une justification dans la nécessité de convertir un patient manquant quelque peu de foi. L'autre raison est que le récit-source sur lequel brode l'auteur du recueil est en fait à la fin un récit de rêve fourni par le malade : or, les travestissements d'identité, les situations paradoxales ou angoissantes, les ruptures de scénario et la conclusion brutale sont des caractéristiques fréquentes des rêves.

Pourtant, ces travestissements se retrouvent même lorsque le patient ne rêve pas ; lorsqu'un dévot pédagogue quitte le sanctuaire furieux de ne pas avoir obtenu un emploi grâce aux saints¹⁷, Côme et Damien vont l'intercepter "sous l'aspect de clercs" devant l'église des Blachernes et prennent de ses nouvelles pour s'attirer cette réplique : "Vous aussi, vous êtes des imposteurs, pareils à ceux qui ont là-bas, sur la colline, leur martyrion". Bien entendu, il ne croit pas si bien dire, puisqu'il identifie les saints à eux-mêmes, tout en ne les reconnaissant pas. Ceux-ci prolongent le jeu, en proposant de lui trouver un emploi en échange d'une commission, d'abord fixée au tarif exorbitant d'une livre d'or ; devant le refus de l'homme, les saints, bons marchandeurs, abaissent leurs prétentions : "Nous ne te demandons pas grand'chose. Donne-nous dix oboles d'encens, et nous te servons en tout." La nouvelle unité de compte (encens et non plus or) et le montant dérisoire auraient pu et dû alerter le pédagogue, mais ce n'est pas le cas ; les saints lui montrent donc l'office où se tient son futur client, un scriniaire, et lui donnent même le nom de son homme d'affaires (*sunallaktès*) par lequel se fera la transaction, puis disparaissent d'un coup non sans l'avoir prévenu : "Désormais tu ne pourras plus nous voir sous cet aspect". La disparition brutale est justement une des règles de l'épiphanie, et c'est un indice de plus dans la série de clins d'œil qu'adresse au lecteur le rédacteur des miracles par-dessus l'épaule du personnage du pédagogue : le lecteur et l'auteur savent bien dès le départ qu'il s'agit des saints, seul le malheureux pédagogue ne le sait pas – effet d'ironie déjà courant dans les épiphanies homériques. Mais le pédagogue ne réagit toujours pas, et il faudra que le *sunallaktès* lui-même vienne le relancer pour qu'il comprenne enfin que tout avait été agencé par Côme et Damien, auxquels il offre ensuite chaque semaine les dix oboles d'encens prévues : le retardement du sens pour le personnage principal est la clé de l'histoire ; comme pour Télémaque accompagné de Mentor, son sort se joue sans qu'il en ait conscience autrement que de façon confuse. On retrouve cette même incompréhension dans le cas du prêtre paralytique qui faisait l'incubation au Cosmidion et fut tenté d'aller au bain curatif de Sykae, de l'autre côté de la Corne d'Or ; des contretemps d'apparence banale, en réalité agencés par les saints, l'amènent finalement à prendre son bain au Cosmidion, où un garçon de bain particulièrement atten-

¹⁷ Mir. 18, Deubner, 144-149, Festugière, 136-142.

tif (l’un des saints, déguisé) lui fait prendre un bain qui le guérit. Ce n’est qu’en cherchant ensuite, en vain, le garçon pour lui donner un pourboire que le prêtre comprend ; pourtant, ce garçon lui avait “dit à l’oreille : ‘Tu n’auras plus aucun mal’. Sur ce, il disparut”¹⁸, donc une conclusion qui rappelle la fin des rêves incubatoires (le saint guérit, et disparaît aussitôt) et des épiphanies. Ces déguisements inattendus des saints peuvent bien sûr s’expliquer par des phénomènes oniriques, comme dans le cas du fédéré qui rêve qu’un ami lui amène les saints ; il est d’abord tout déçu de les découvrir “sous l’aspect de fédérés” et s’exclame : “Ce sont des fédérés, mes camarades.” Puis il finit quand même par accepter (en rêve !) l’idée que ce sont les saints, mais alors ces derniers délèguent la guérison à un mystérieux troisième homme, “un autre individu portant une robe d’avocat”, dont l’identité n’est jamais clairement expliquée et qui doit être un nouvel avatar de l’un des deux saints, qui opèrent ensuite à deux la guérison¹⁹.

J.-M. Sansterre a de même bien montré que dans le recueil de Sophronios sur Cyr et Jean, un des rêves propres de Sophronios lui-même porte la trace d’un trouble, voir intervenir l’apôtre Thomas plutôt que les saints titulaires de Ménouthis²⁰ : l’inattendu du rêve persiste dans le recueil parce que c’est le rêve de l’auteur lui-même, auquel il ne peut qu’accorder une importance capitale (c’est pour lui la source de sa guérison), tandis que des incongruités analogues dans les rêves d’autres patients qu’il relate ont sans doute été gommées – puisqu’il n’en reste pas d’autre dans le texte de Sophronios. Le rêve peut aussi expliquer un balancement d’une ambivalence toute freudienne entre Côme et Damien tantôt présentés comme des médecins presque humains, mais merveilleusement capables d’éviter la douleur et de garantir la guérison²¹, tantôt comme des médecins caricaturaux qui opèrent le malade contre son gré et le rabrouent lorsqu’il demande un soin spécifique – mais qui lui donnent ainsi une guérison inespérée²² ; nous retrouvons sans doute ici la trace ambivalente du mélange instable d’espoirs et de craintes que les patients projetaient sur les médecins de ce monde. Dernière possibilité de méprise temporaire : les saints apparaissent sous leur “vraie” forme à quelqu’un qui ne la connaît pas, comme la femme du dévot parti en province, qui reconnaît après coup sur l’icône portative du mari l’identité des mystérieux visiteurs nocturnes²³ ; le retardement du sens a là aussi une fonction pédagogique, en affirmant l’authenticité de la vision : la malade, ne

¹⁸ Mir. 14, Deubner, 134-137, Festugière, 127-130.

¹⁹ Mir. 35, Deubner, 187-188, Festugière, 185-186. On rencontre des sauts analogues d’une identité à l’autre dans un même rêve pour Cyr et Jean.

²⁰ J.-M. Sansterre, “Apparitions et miracles à Ménouthis : de l’incubation païenne à l’incubation chrétienne”, dans A. Dierkens (éd.), *Apparitions et miracles* [Problèmes d’histoire des religions, 2] (Bruxelles, 1991), 69-83.

²¹ Mir. 27, Deubner, 168-172, Festugière, 164-167.

²² Mir. 30, Deubner, 173-176, Festugière, 169-172.

²³ Mir. 13, Deubner, 132-134, Festugière, 125-127.

connaissant pas l'iconographie de Côme et Damien, fait figure de sujet innocent qui n'a pas pu adapter la vision à une image préconçue ; les icônes des saints sont donc "vraies", ainsi que la réalité de la présence des saints par leurs icônes. Dans tous ces cas, c'est le détour qui caractérise la narration : le mot de la fin tarde à venir, ce qui fait d'ailleurs beaucoup du charme de ces épisodes où le narrateur sait ménager un vrai suspense ; le surnaturel n'est d'abord pas reconnu comme tel et agit souvent de façon indirecte, d'une façon apparemment banale et quotidienne.

Un saint mérite une mention particulière pour la subtilité des déguisements et des effets de double sens dans la narration : Artémios. Un marin malade quitte le sanctuaire du saint à l'Oxia sans avoir été guéri et repart avec son bateau ; une fois en pleine mer, l'équipage voit un inconnu en manteau (*chlainè*) qui donne des ordres et aide le timonier ; ce faisant, il marche comme par inadvertance sur le malade à l'endroit du mal, et le guérit : l'étranger disparaît, tous crient longuement le Kyrie eleison pour proclamer qu'ils reconnaissent le miracle²⁴. Ces faux accidents/vraies guérisons sont déjà attestés à Épidaure, mais c'est surtout l'anonymat provisoire d'Artémios qui retiendra ici notre attention : le port du manteau de dignitaire aurait dû permettre l'identification d'Artémios, ancien doux d'Égypte, mais là encore les marins n'ont pas compris. Dans un autre cas, le gardien d'un grenier, malade, ne peut faire l'incubation auprès d'Artémios à cause de son métier, mais prie le saint de son mieux ; en rêve, le saint lui apparaît sous les traits de son supérieur, le *komès* des greniers, le gronde de dormir et feint de lui laisser en pourboire un nomisma qui, au réveil, se révèle être un cachet de cire d'Artémios qui sera l'instrument de la guérison. Le saint apparaît comme un dignitaire, analogue à ce qu'il était de son vivant, il tient un discours de supérieur – ce qu'est bien le saint patronant un dévot –, et y mêle blâme et encouragement – en fait l'indulgence pour une incubation qui n'est pas faite dans les règles, mais aussi le don de la guérison²⁵. Tout le sens y est, mais décalé. C'est encore plus net pour le prêtre de l'église même d'Artémios qui a eu recours non pas au saint, mais à un médecin perse, à grand prix et sans succès, et ne veut plus de ses services : Artémios lui apparaît en rêve sous les traits du médecin perse, et le malade refuse à grands cris jusqu'à ce que le saint se retire en disant énigmatiquement que ce sera au malade de venir à lui. Dès son réveil, le prêtre comprend enfin et va faire l'incubation²⁶. Le vrai sens est l'exact inverse du sens apparent du rêve : au lieu d'un charlatan voulant imposer des services payants et inutiles, c'est

²⁴ *Miracles d'Artémios*, éd. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca sacra* (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1909), réimpr. dans V. Crisafulli et J. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios* (Leyde, New York & Cologne, 1997), reproduction du texte grec de Papadopoulos-Kerameus et traduction anglaise ; mir. 14, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 16, Crisafulli, 102.

²⁵ Mir. 16, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 16-17, Crisafulli, 106-108.

²⁶ Mir. 23, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 31-33, Crisafulli, 137-140.

Artémios qui propose un service gratuit et efficace, à condition de venir à lui. Tous ces récits de rêve laissent bien sûr penser à des rationalisations opérées par les rêveurs au réveil, mais on a aussi des cas étonnants de guérison à l’état de veille, comme celui-ci : un malade va aux latrines de l’église et y trouve quelqu’un déjà installé, l’air abattu, qui est en réalité Artémios incognito feignant d’être un autre malade. La conversation s’engage, on échange des expériences, et le vrai malade finit par proposer au faux malade/vrai saint de palper sa hernie testiculaire ; Artémios le fait de façon si énergique que l’autre se croit blessé à mort, sort en courant pour mieux voir, constate qu’il est guéri, retourne sur ses pas... et ne trouve plus personne dans la latrine²⁷. Tout ce qui ressemblait à un fait divers entre humains devient tout d’un coup un miracle, perçu comme tel a posteriori.

C’est peut-être ce qui explique un dernier type de miracles où le saint n’apparaît jamais, mais où le bénéficiaire devine son intervention dans une suite de coïncidences trop bien arrangées pour être fortuites. Ainsi, un patient malade physiquement d’un abcès à la poitrine et moralement d’une passion pour les jeux de l’amphithéâtre s’entend prescrire par Côme et Damien de boire de l’huile de cèdre, normalement toxique ; il refuse, et les saints, accommodants, lui suggèrent à défaut d’aller enterrer la fiole d’huile le soir dans le virage de la piste de l’amphithéâtre ; bien entendu, il y est surpris par un groupe d’amateurs de courses qui le soupçonnent de préparer le rite magique de la *defixio* contre une faction dans les courses du lendemain, et le menacent de mort ; pour prouver qu’il n’agit que sur ordre des saints, il ne reste plus au malade qu’à avaler l’huile – ce qui le fait vomir et le guérit à la fois de l’abcès, éclaté, et de son goût des jeux du cirque !²⁸ Un dévot d’Artémios se fait cambrioler et y perd tous ses habits ; tandis qu’il se lamente, le saint lui apparaît et lui promet de lui indiquer en échange d’une promesse d’impunité pour celui-ci (le dévot promet même un pourboire)²⁹ ; le saint indique un chantre, que la victime va voir, et le chantre, sans s’avouer coupable, laisse entendre qu’il va y remédier. De fait, il amène bientôt devant le tribunal son propre frère, ligoté, avec sur lui les habits du dévot ; mais le *sekretarios* chargé de l’interrogatoire déforme les faits en les présentant comme un litige sur un prêt à gages et non comme un vol : naïvement, la victime acquiesce à cette version sans en mesurer les conséquences, et il faut qu’un autre officiel de ses amis lui indique son erreur pour qu’il comprenne que c’est Artémios qui a arrangé ces quiproquo pour l’obliger à tenir sa promesse d’impunité pour le voleur – et le dévot retire sa plainte et arrange l’affaire à l’amiable, avec même le pourboire promis³⁰. On

²⁷ Mir. 35, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 55-57, Crisafulli, 185-188.

²⁸ Mir. 11, Deubner, 122-128, Festugière, 116-120.

²⁹ Ces promesses d’impunité pour le coupable en échange de l’aide du saint sont courantes, et reflètent sans doute des médiations à l’amiable de bien des litiges dans la vie réelle.

³⁰ Mir. 22, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 20-23, Crisafulli, 114-121.

pourrait multiplier les exemples sans difficulté³¹ ; tout peut devenir intervention surnaturelle, et le moment décisif est celui de la compréhension finale, celui où en réalité une ou plusieurs personnes décident d'expliquer *a posteriori* des événements par le doigt de Dieu ou l'intervention de tel ou tel médiateur de la puissance divine ; ces épiphanies sont en effet foncièrement rétrospectives, lectures produites lorsqu'une véritable enquête policière ne laisse plus qu'une seule solution au puzzle, le facteur surnaturel. En ce sens, le divin est partout à portée de main, plus sans doute dans l'Orient chrétien qu'en Occident : il est entendu que le divin peut prendre les formes les plus inattendues ou incongrues, comme le saint fou, sans déchoir, et l'épiphanie de la sainteté est "an unexpected wellspring of delight in the scorching summer of Mediterranean life"³². La continuité avec le monde païen y est bien sûr plus manifeste qu'en Occident, de même que pour l'incubation.

³¹ Voir en particulier *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle*, éd. G. Dagron [Subsidia hagiographica 62] (Bruxelles 1978) ; *Los Thaumata di Sofronio*, éd. N. F. Marcos (Madrid 1975).

³² Voir P. Brown, "Eastern and Western Christendom : A Parting of the Ways", dans *The Orthodox Churches and the West* (Oxford 1976), p. 1-24, réimpr. dans P. Brown, *The Society and the Holy*, Londres 1982, 166-195, en particulier 182-184 et 195.

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A Game of Dice and a Game of Chess: a Byzantine vs. a Scandinavian Allegory

Stephanos Efthymiadis

Apart from a cornucopia of information on matters of daily life, Byzantine hagiography is a window on the invisible, imaginary and symbolic world. It is an old but repeatedly re-assessed statement that, more than any other genre, the literature on saints reflects both popular and theologically founded perceptions of life and death. We routinely ascribe these beliefs and perceptions to such a generalization and abstraction as ‘the Medieval mind’ and yet we have little to trace geographical and chronological borders, especially between Christian East and West. The fashion in which the Byzantines came to terms with and envisaged issues of the hereafter illustrates their distinctive identity against beliefs prevailing, on the one hand, in pagan antiquity, and, on the other hand, in the Christian West. Although their cosmic order, more often than not, reflected their social one, their allegories, prompted by down-to-earth concerns and drawing upon pictures of everyday reality, reflected a different conception of life and afterlife.¹

In his *Life of St Symeon the Holy Fool for Christ* (BHG 1677) Leontios of Neapolis offers one of the most colourful pictures of urban life in late antiquity. Having attained spiritual perfection, the ascetic Symeon intrudes into the city and simulates foolishness in order to mock the world and castigate sinful conduct. This is personal rather than public sin. In fact, throughout Leontios’ narrative section that is devoted to his hero’s exploits in town, Symeon functions as a fool in public and as a holy man in private; he no-

¹ Cf. C. Mango, “The invisible world of good and evil”, in his *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 151-165.

where appears as a public preacher or healer, thereby from beginning to end preserving his holiness concealed from the many.²

One of the episodes which make up the ‘urban section’ of this *vita* refers to a grandee suffering from a deadly illness.³ Symeon would pay visits to his house and play the fool. Personal sin – in this case adultery – is revealed and criticized by the saint’s appearance first in the man’s dream and then in his waking state. In the dream – in fact a nightmare – the sick man is playing dice with death personified by an Ethiopian. What was at stake, i.e. his own life, was to be saved only by a throw of a triple six, i.e. the highest possible throw. Acting as both an intruder and mediator, Symeon showed up to successfully roll the dice but on the condition that the man would no longer defile his wife’s bed. Waking from his dream, the man saw Symeon threatening him that, should he not abide by his oath, the black man would choke him. The story rounds off with the usual run of the fool from the incident’s place.

That games involving dice were a pastime popular with upper and lower strata of society alike and that they were associated with fate should not come as a surprise to the reader familiar with the art and literature of this and earlier periods.⁴ As far as art is concerned, it may suffice, on the one hand, to cite the famous sixth-century BC vase painting by Exekias showing Achilles and Ajax playing a board game; and, on the other, note that examples multiply as we reach the Roman period.⁵ Literary attestations to games of dice stretched back to Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* where the guardian introducing the tragedy uses the rather proverbial expression τρίς ἕξ βάλλω, i.e. ‘cast a triple six’, in connection with the good news about the fall of Troy (v. 31).⁶

² As Evagrius Scholastikos has it, “τὸ πρὸς πολλῶν φωραθῆναι τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετὴν δεδιώς”: *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV,34, ed. J. Bidez & L. Parmentier, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia* (London, 1898, repr. Amsterdam, 1968), 183. On the overall theme of concealed sanctity prevailing in the *vita*, see D. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius’ Life and the Late Antique City* [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 25] (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1996), 66-71; and V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis* [Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 3] (Uppsala, 1995), 183-97, esp. 189-190, who states “personne ne sait ce que le voisin peut, pour sa part, savoir de Syméon”.

³ See ch. XXXVII, ed. L. Rydén, in A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Paris, 1974), 99¹⁵-100⁴. English tr. in Krueger, *op. cit.*, 167-168. Commentary in L. Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* [Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 6] (Uppsala, 1970), 131-133.

⁴ See evidence assembled by Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol. 1:1 (Athens, 1948), 185-219; also the entry “Games, board”, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2 (New York & Oxford, 1991), 820-821.

⁵ Useful for the amount of information and illustrations that its entries include is Ch.D. Lazos, *Παίζοντας στο χρόνο. Αρχαιοελληνικά και βυζαντινά παιχνίδια, 1700 π.Χ.-1500 μ.Χ.* (Athens, 2002).

⁶ On this see the commentary by E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus. Agamemnon*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1950), 21-22. Some other examples of the use of τρίς ἕξ were discussed by M.M. Kokolakis, *Φιλολογικά μελετήματα εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλληνικὴν γραμματείαν* (Athens, 1976), 94-95.

Many centuries later, an epigram (no 482), preserved under the name of Agathias Scholastikos in book IX of the Greek Anthology, refers to the emperor Zeno's ruined game of τάβλη, which came about as a result of an unfortunate throw of the dice.⁷ Moreover, as we hear in story no 18 of the Collection of Miracles of St Artemios (*BHG* 173), casting the dice on a board was a major daily entertainment for the men in the street sitting not far from the shrine.⁸ As the episode in the *vita* of St Symeon reveals, a symbolical meaning was attached to rolling the dice and that was reflected in the realm of dreams and their interpretation. From the *Dreambook* of Artemidoros to Byzantine *oneirocritica* casting the dice and falling dice were associated with quarreling and the twists of fate or, worse, the loss of human life.⁹

The other piece that fits into Leontios' picture, i.e. Death's portrayal as an Ethiopian, squares with the overall perception of demons as being 'black', in fact a recurrent theme in monastic literature of late antiquity with, in fact, not many later hagiographic survivals.¹⁰ However, to my knowledge, what is

⁷ For the epigram, see *Anthologie grecque*, première partie, *Anthologie palatine*, vol. 8, (*Livre IX, epigr. 359-825*). Ed. P. Waltz & G. Soury (Paris, 1974), 58-59; English tr. in *The Greek Anthology, Book IX*. With an English tr. by W.R. Paton [Loeb Classical Library] (Cambridge, MA & London, ⁸1998), 268-269. Τάβλη was a game of the backgammon type and apparently akin to the modern game. For a detailed attempt at reconstructing it on the basis of this epigram, see R.G. Austin, "Zeno's game of τάβλη (A.P. ix. 482)", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 54 (1934), 202-205. By and large, this study restores the conclusions reached about 'le jeu de douze lignes' in L. Becq de Fouquières, *Les jeux des anciens: leur description, leur origine, leurs rapports avec la religion, l'histoire, les arts et les mœurs* (Paris, 1869), 357-383.

⁸ Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 22; English tr. by V.S. Crisafulli, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* [The Medieval Mediterranean, 13] (Leiden 1997), 119.

⁹ See *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*. Ed. R.A. Pack (Leipzig, 1968), 205 (lib. III, 1). Also F. Drexler, "Das Traumbuch des Propheten Daniel nach dem cod. Vatic. Palat. Gr. 319", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 26 (1926), 295 (nos. 65 and 66); and *idem*, "Das anonyme Traumbuch des Cod. Paris. Gr. 2511", *Laographia* 8 (1925), 352 (no. 36). English tr. and comments by S.M. Oberhelman, *Dreams in Byzantium. Six Oneirocritica in Translation with Commentary and Introduction* (Aldershot, 2008), 67 and 169.

¹⁰ Bibliography on 'black demons' is quite extensive: see L. Regnault, *La vie quotidienne des Pères du désert en Égypte au IV^e siècle* (Paris, 1990), 201-203; A. Karpozelos, "Η θέση τῶν μαύρων στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία", in C. Maltezou (ed.), *Οἱ περιθωριακοὶ στὸ Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1993), 67-81; C. Mango, "Diabolus byzantinus", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), 215-223; and A. Guillou, "Le diable byzantine", in C. Scholz & G. Makris (ed.), *Polypleuros nous. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* [Byzantisches Archiv, 19] (Munich & Leipzig, 2000), 45-55; and D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk. Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA & London, 2006), 157-181; and D. Letsios, "Diabolus in figura Aethiopis terri. Ethiopians as demons in hagiographic sources: Literary stereotypes versus social reality and historical events", in J.P. Monferrer-Sala, V. Christides & Th. Papadopoulos (eds.), *East and West. Essays on Byzantine and Arab Worlds in the Middle Ages* [Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies, 15] (Piscataway, NJ, 2009), 185-200. For a later hagiographic survival of the Devil as a black figure, see *The Life of St Irene Abbess*

unparalleled in Byzantine literature and art is the image of Death playing a game of dice with man.¹¹ To find a similar scene, we must turn to classical antiquity and Herodotus who mentions a tale which in fact has numerous occurrences in world folklore. This is about the Egyptian King Rhampsinitus, who, according to the legend, descended alive to Hades where he played dice with Demeter, i.e. Isis. After both winning and losing he left away having received a golden napkin as a gift (II, 122).¹²

In contrast to Byzantium, in the Christian West the picture of man engaged in a pastime board game with Death should not be associated with a game like modern backgammon, but with chess, i.e. not a game of luck but one of deliberation and strategy. Originated in India, chess reached Europe via Persia and the Arab world and was spread to its four ends, one being Byzantium and the other Scandinavia. The scarcity of evidence indicates that it did not win wide acclaim in Christian Roman East.¹³ Conversely, at least during the late Middle Ages, the rest of Europe must have taken a serious literary and artistic interest in it. As an allegory, it inspired a writer, the Genoese Dominican friar Jacobus de Cessolis (Cessole, a town in Piemonte, Italy), whose *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobelium super ludo scachorum* was to be translated into vernacular languages.¹⁴ Written in an undetermined date between 1234 and 1337, it was a treatise with an obvious moral orientation, pinpointing correspondences between the position of the various pawns on the chessboard and the function of professions and offices upon which human society is structured.

Allegorization of chess for didactic purposes, but not merely moral ones, lay behind the pictorial *leitmotif* of 'Death playing chess with man'. As an artistic topic, it must have come up in the context of the Black Death that swept through Europe in the mid-fourteenth century, and can be found in three examples now surviving in Germany and one more on a mural painting

of *Chrysobalanton*. Ed. J.O. Rosenqvist [Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 1] (Uppsala, 1986), 20 (ch. 15).

¹¹ Cf. L. Radermacher, "Vom Würfenspiel, Tod und Teufel", *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 92 (1955), 17-23; the case of St Symeon is discussed on p. 19.

¹² On this tale with further secondary literature, see D. Asheri, A. Lloyd & A. Corcella, *A Commentary on Herodotus. Books I-IV* (Oxford, 2007), 328.

¹³ See Koukoules, *op. cit.*, 219-221.

¹⁴ Ed. F. Vetter, *Das Schachzabelbuch Kunrats von Ammenhausen nebst den Schachbüchern des Jakob von Cessole und des Jakob Mennel* [Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz. Ergänzungsband] (Frauenfeld, 1892). Discussions on the content of this treatise in O. Pessow, "Kulturelle Angleichung und Werteuniversalismus in den Schachzabelbüchern des Mittelalters", in O. Ferm & V. Honemann (eds.), *Chess and Allegory in the Middle Ages* [Runica et Mediaevalia. Scripta minora, 12] (Stockholm, 2005), 57-97; also G. Hedegård, "Jacobus de Cessolis' Sources: the Case of Valerius Maximus", *Chess and Allegory in the Middle Ages*, 99-160.

in Täby Parish Church in Stockholm County, Sweden.¹⁵ The latter one depicts two figures sitting around a chessboard: a man wearing a green robe and a black hat and, next to him, a slim, mummified corpse (see Fig. 1). This and other paintings of this church have been safely attributed to Albertus Pictor, who was artistically active in medieval Sweden from 1473 to 1509 and regarded as the best known painter in the country.

Albertus Pictor's allegorical rendering of man's combat with fate and death on a chessboard served as a source of inspiration for a modern artist who fully explored the *leitmotif* of the chess game with Death. Ingmar Bergman's *The Seventh Seal* (*Det sjunde inseglet*) was released in 1957 but still displays the most famous and emblematic chess game in film history.¹⁶ It may suffice to remind the reader that it tells the story of a noble knight who, as another Ulysses, comes back home after the ten-year empty experience of a fourteenth-century crusade. Adrift on an itinerary that enforces his scepticism, and overwhelmed by existential enigmas, the knight Antonius Block, escorted by his 'agnostic' squire, meets the agony of people confronted with Black Death and the superstition that surrounds it. Before that, in the opening scene by the sea-shore, he is approached by Death portrayed as a pale-faced man clad in black garments. To prevent the deadly embrace, he challenges his uninvited visitor to a game of chess which, should he win, would hopefully result in his release. After the draw Death is allotted the black pawns and, as he admits, this is fitting to his appearance (see Fig. 2). Yet, despite this favourable start for the knight, the game – which recurs as a dominating theme throughout the film – cannot overturn what is determined by human destiny. Parallel to that, *the Seventh Seal* unfolds as a survey and inquiry into the power, on the one hand, of medieval fear and, on the other hand, of perennial human anxiety.¹⁷

Strikingly, Bergman's film bears significant similarities to the text of Leontios of Neapolis. In the first place, both the modern filmmaker and the late antique hagiographer converge in providing a panoramic view of society, wavering as they do between the playful and the naturalistic. The characters and snapshots of daily life, with which both narratives are filled, produce a polyphonic effect, thereby grafting upon both creations a documentary dimension. To be sure, although the film is concluded with the optimistic scene of the juggler's family being carried away with their cart from the others' *danse macabre*, Bergman tilts the balance in favour of a dramatic naturalism which extends a modern feeling into his artistic creation.

¹⁵ See P. Melin, "Death playing chess with man and related motifs. Painted allegories by Albertus Pictor in some Uppland churches", in *Chess and Allegory in the Middle Ages*, 9-16.

¹⁶ At <http://www.imsdb.com/scripts/Seventh-Seal,-The.html> the screenplay is available in an English translation, last accessed on 3/3/2012. See also *Four Screenplays of Ingmar Bergman*. Translated from Swedish by L. Malmström and D. Kushner (New York, 1960).

¹⁷ For a discussion of the chess allegory in the film, see M. Koskinen, "Chess in film: from Hollywood to Ingmar Bergman", in *Chess and Allegory in the Middle Ages*, 17-30.

In the second place, significant convergences and divergences can be detected in the presentation of the games themselves. The contrast between black and white in the chess game is also insinuated in the game of dice that takes place in the rich man's dream. Agathias' aforementioned epigram suffices to confirm that the game of *τάβλη* was played by white and black checkers. Leontios, in turn, reproduces this division by a way of allusion; for, it can be inferred that, as an opponent to the Ethiopian, the man in the dream played the white side. By means of this and verbal expressions like “καὶ ἐγὼ καταρρίπτω ἀντὶ σοῦ καὶ οὐχ ἥττᾳ σε”, “καλὰ τρίεκτα ἔβαλες”, “ὁ μαῦρος ἐκεῖνος πνίγει σε”, Leontios, in a few lines of text, artfully integrates snippets of what must have been the usual conversation and performance of the game. Symeon stands for the observer, a third person, the ‘lucky beggar’ who can be trusted to roll the dice felicitously at least for once. At the same time he is the mediator, empowered by the man's repentant oath, fighting a Death who is no more than a caricature beaten by means of a lucky throw of dice.

No such intruder would have been expected in Bergman's allegory and the blond knight's game. The emissary from above is not the comic figure of St Symeon but Death as a solemn representative of the unknown who not only does fail to resolve or to absolve, but further perplexes the existential queries of the main hero. What the latter only deserves is a preferential treatment. Unlike the frivolous actor whom we see towards the end of the film lose his life upon climbing a tree cut by the Death's saw, the knight is given the chance to prolong his life by a game of chess. As a symbol of warfare, chess plainly suggests that nothing should be left to fate or, in other words, that man can fight for perpetuating his existence and somehow decide his own fate.

Albertus Pictor's and Ingmar Bergman's allegories stand in marked contrast to the world of Leontios who still shared fresh reminiscences with ancient folklore and funerary practices common among pagans and Christians. In this ‘oriental world’ of late antiquity the dice as a symbol of *tyche* can dominate one's future. In the distant – in place and time – world of fourteenth-century Scandinavia the dim light of the pursuit of rational knowledge and development of man's logical skills is perceptible.



Fig. 1: Death Playing Chess with Man. Mural in Täby Parish Church.



Fig. 2: Death and the knight start their game of chess in Ingmar Bergman's *The Seventh Seal*.

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Monochromy, Dichromy and Polychromy in Byzantine Art

Bente Kiilerich

A defining feature of Byzantine art is the predilection for rich and splendid materials, whether they are used for exquisitely finished jewellery, enamels and silverware, or for the decoration of churches with shining marble revetments and brilliant golden mosaics. The various precious and colourful substances could express spiritual values, exalt imperial majesty and, on a secular level, aggrandise private commissioners.

Unfortunately Western culture has tended to a chromophobic view, colour, like ornament, being marginalized as Oriental, barbarian, vulgar and superficial.¹ Seen in this perspective, the Byzantine love of *poikilia* could only be perceived as a crass opposition to the ‘noble simplicity and calm grandeur’ once associated, if wrongly so, with classical art. Indeed, in mid-nineteenth century art-historical surveys, the Byzantine ‘Prachtliebe’ was often deemed artistically inferior and even perceived as morally depraved.²

Recent major exhibitions of Byzantine art, with exuberantly illustrated catalogues, have highlighted the aesthetic qualities of the objects.³ Due to the nature of the temporary exhibition, most items are small, hence inevitably emphasizing the luxurious aspects of the arts. The positive response to those exhibitions suggests that the time may be ripe to (re)consider visual and aes-

¹ See in general David Batchelor, *Chromophobia* (London, 2000).

² E.g. Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1842), 338, 379; Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, III (Düsseldorf, 1844), 226-229.

³ *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques*. Ed. by Jannic Durand (Paris, 1992); *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 813-1261*. Ed. by Helen C. Evans & William D. Wixom (New York, 1997); *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*. Ed. by Helen C. Evans (New York, 2004); *Byzantium, 330-1453*. Ed. by Robin Cormack & Maria Vassilaki (London, 2008).

thetic questions.⁴ This small contribution briefly addresses one aspect of Byzantine material aesthetics namely polychromy and polymateriality.⁵

MONOCHROMY, DICHROMY AND POLYCHROMY IN SCULPTED WORKS

In search of a monochrome aesthetic in Byzantine art, metal, ivory and stone present themselves as potential media. Nonetheless, it soon appears that none of these materials was entirely monochrome. Silver plate was often parcel gilded, thus achieving a dichromatic effect; furthermore silver plate could be inlaid with enamel, niello and other precious substances.⁶ Onyx and rock crystal were also combined with silver and gold. Moreover metal objects were not infrequently studded with stones, adding to colourful and brilliant exuberance. The most magnificent object preserved is undoubtedly the *Pala d'oro* in Venice, a large golden antependium, incorporating jewels and enamels of several periods.⁷

As for ivories the question of monochromy is disputed. It is known from literary sources that ivory at times was paired with gold. Thus in a letter of 393, Symmachus mentions a diptych in a gold frame (*auro circumdatum diptychum*, Ep. 2.81.2). Claudian refers to “huge tusks...carved into plaques and inlaid with gold to form the glittering inscriptions of the consul’s name” (De Stil. III, 346-48). A dichrome chryselephantine aesthetic (in large format used for Phidias’ cult statues of Athena and Zeus) would come as no surprise. But to what extent were ivories painted? Carolyn Connor claims to have found microscopic traces of colour on about a hundred ivories in American collections.⁸ Another expert on ivories, Anthony Cutler, believes that ivories as a rule were not, or only to a very limited extent, coloured.⁹ Indeed, whereas paint would be expected to brighten the dull surfaces of wood, bone and stucco, the potential covering of the costly material ivory is more surprising.

⁴ Cf. Bente Kiilerich, “Aesthetic Aspects of Palaiologan Art – some Problems”, in *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture*. Ed. by Jan Olof Rosenqvist [The Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions, 13] (Stockholm, 2004), 11-26.

⁵ A pioneering study is Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo, “Policromia e polimateria nelle opere d’arte della tarda antichità e dell’alto medioevo”, *Felix Ravenna* 101 (= quarta serie, 1) (1970), 223-259, from whom I borrow the term polymateriality.

⁶ See e.g. Marlia Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: the Kaper Koraon and Related treasures* (Baltimore, 1986).

⁷ Sergio Bettini, “Venice, the Pala d’Oro, and Constantinople”, in *The Treasury of San Marco Venice*. Ed. by David Buckton (Milan, 1984), 35-64.

⁸ Carolyn L. Connor, *The Color of Ivory: Polychromy on Byzantine Ivories* (Princeton, 1997), list of ivories with traces of colour, 84-87; *eadem*, “Color on Late Antique and Byzantine Ivories: Problems and Challenges of Conservation”, in *Spätantike und byzantinischen Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs*. Ed. by Gudrun Bühl & Anthony Cutler (Wiesbaden, 2008), 31-36.

⁹ Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society (9th-11th Centuries)* (Princeton, 1994).

Nevertheless, when the Stilicho diptych at Monza, ca 400, was published by Camille Jullian in the late nineteenth century, the French scholar reported traces of colour.¹⁰ Since most ivory reliefs are small, portable and potentially ‘hand-held’ objects to be viewed from close up, polychromy would not have been required to distinguish individual elements such as dress parts and insignia. If paint was applied it must have been an aesthetic choice. The court poet Claudian paints an image of Stilicho’s consular *trabea* as multicoloured, woven in purple and gold. It included an image of the son Eucherius who “rode his horse that flecked its silken reins with bloody foam. Woven himself of gold he smites with javelin and arrow the purple stags that raise their golden horns” (*De Stil.* II 350-54, year 400). Fragments of purple silk with golden imagery give material evidence of such elite garments. The ivory diptych at Monza reflects the richness of Stilicho’s dress: the *chlamys* and the military tunic both have figural decoration.¹¹ The roundels and figures between columns on Stilicho’s tunic might have shown the gold and purple bichromy preserved both in real clothes and in representations. Colour could therefore have been used to signal status and make the image appear more mimetically convincing.

As it appears today in the white to grey shades of the stone, marble sculpture has a decidedly monochrome look. Yet, for as long as marble statues were still made in the early Byzantine period, they often had inlaid eyes and at times accessories, like earrings and diadems, added in metal. A closer look at an early fifth-century marble statuette of an empress found on Cyprus reveals that the current monochrome surface is not in accordance with her original appearance (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles). The ears are pierced for insertion of earrings; the surface is prepared for the application of a necklace in the form of a sumptuous *Juwelkrage*, and the *clavi* down the front of the *dalmatica* are roughly treated, apparently intended to be covered with a thin gold foil (there are remains of a red substance which served as an adhesive); the foot was separately made, possibly in a different marble.¹² One must imagine the empress in colour. The closest parallel is the princess Anicia Juliana depicted in the dedication page of the *Vienna Dioskurides*, ca 512, dressed in gold and purple.¹³ In sum a sculpted work was also a painted work.

¹⁰ Camille Jullian, “Le diptyque de Stilicon au trésor de Monza”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome* 2 (1882), 5-35.

¹¹ Bente Kiilerich & Hjalmar Torp, “Hic est: hic Stilicho. The Date and Interpretation of a Notable Diptych”, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 104 (1989), 319-371.

¹² *Byzance*, cat. no. 4 (Jean-Pierre Sodini) with reference to remains of colour; Bente Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts. Studies in the so-called Theodosian Renaissance* (Odense, 1993), 96-98, fig. 44-45.

¹³ Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York, 1977), pl. Y; see further Bente Kiilerich, “The Image of Anicia Juliana in the Vienna Dioskurides: Flattery or Appropriation of Imperial Imagery?”, *Symbolae Osloenses* 76 (2001), 169-190.

Figural sculpture with Christian subject matter was comparatively rare in Byzantium, yet scattered evidence, from both early and late periods, hints that it may have been less rare than it is generally assumed. The excavations of Anicia Juliana's church of St Polyeuktos, ca 510/530, for instance, yielded some thirty small marble heads (Istanbul Archaeological Museum).¹⁴ In spite of their present monochrome surface, they may originally have been polychrome; at least they were *polymaterial*, since they were joined to bodies of a different material, perhaps (painted) stucco. Their position within the church is uncertain.

The same uncertainty pertains to the sculpted decoration from the Monastery founded in 907 by the high court official Konstantinos Lips.¹⁵ From there stems the large inlaid multicoloured marble panel inscribed Agia Eudokia (Istanbul Archaeological Museum) (Fig. 1). Eudokia's ornate *dalmatica* is composed of purple and red stone, her *loros* studded with green and blue glass and white and yellow stone, suggesting pearls and gold; the intarsia is set in a white marble plaque bordered by green and red stones set in yellow and purple.¹⁶ The slightly curving panel (66 x 28 x 6-8 cm) was probably attached to a slightly curved surface.

Fragments in limestone were also recovered in the Lips monastery (Benaki Museum, Athens). These include a face and two right arms from military saints (size of face ca 6 cm, giving a possible total height of ca 50 cm or more). Traces of red paint on a spear-holding arm indicate that they were painted.¹⁷ Additional finds suggest they were enhanced with inlaid glass and set into plaques of green stone. Since the nose and mouth of the military saint are plastically rendered whereas the facial features of Eudokia are incised, the pieces are unlikely to have belonged to the same decoration. This circumstance points to the existence of several not necessarily contemporary compositions.

Rather than belonging to a strict category, such as sculpture, mosaic or painting, many objects defy categorization, being multimedial in their combining of different techniques. Another example of this approach is a tenth-century marble panel with three apostles originally part of a larger composi-

¹⁴ R. Martin Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, I (Princeton, 1986), 157-161. Bente Kiilerich, "Sculpture in the round in the early Byzantine period: Constantinople and the East", in *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*. Ed. by Lennart Rydén & Jan Olof Rosenqvist [The Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions, 4] (Stockholm, 1993), 85-97, esp. 89-91.

¹⁵ Theodore Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), 251-276, with plates 277-315.

¹⁶ The date of the panel is disputed, Sharon E.J. Gerstel, "Saint Eudokia and the imperial household of Leo VI", *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997), 699-707, argues for 907; cf. *The Glory of Byzantium*, 42-43, no. 8 B.

¹⁷ Macridy, fig. 78; *The Glory of Byzantium*, 41-42, no. 8 A.

tion (Fig. 2).¹⁸ The panel decorated a *templon* screen in the Blatadon Monastery, Thessaloniki (Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, pres. 47 x 93 cm). The figures are designed in *champlevé*, their sunken bodies and name inscriptions filled with coloured wax-mastic inlay.

As these examples suggest, sculpted images in Byzantium appear by and large to have been polychrome, at times dichrome, but rarely purely monochrome.

POLYCHROMY AND POLYMATERIALITY IN CHURCH INTERIORS

While the abovementioned works are on display in museums, divorced from their original context, the visual impact is obviously stronger, when a given work is seen in its original setting. The basilica of Euphrasius at Parenzo (Poreč) in Istria, from about 540-550, presents an extant multimedial decoration: figural floor mosaics, coloured capitals of different design, polychrome stucco reliefs in arcades, golden mosaics in main and side apses,¹⁹ and *opus sectile*.

In *opus sectile* variegated patterns were achieved by juxtaposing pieces of marble, coloured stones and sometimes mother-of-pearl, a technique used also in the Roman period. It is preserved in Byzantine churches in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Ravenna, Parenzo and elsewhere.²⁰ The Eufasian basilica proves how colourful work in this technique can be: twenty orthostate panels decorate the lower part of the central apse, framing the *kathedra* of the bishop. There are nearly thirty different marbles and stones, ten colours of glass and mother-of-pearl (Fig. 3).²¹

The dominant colours purple and green are set off with white or yellow and often highlighted with accents in orange-red and blue. When sunlight is reflected in the surface, the mother-of-pearl makes the wall sparkle and gleam like a jewelled box. A closer look at the orthostates reveals that many areas are composed of smaller pieces. In order to make mirrored image panels, small, irregular pieces had to be employed, partly by using scrap material. Thus practical circumstances may explain some of the *poikilia*: one had to make do with the materials at hand.²² It is therefore difficult to know for

¹⁸ *The Glory of Byzantium*, 43, no. 9; Demetrios Konstantios (ed.), *Byzantines sylloges. I monimi ekthesi* (Athens, 2007), fig. 90.

¹⁹ Ann Terry and Henry Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: the Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Euphrasius at Poreč* (University Park, PA, 2007).

²⁰ Panagiota Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *I techniki opus sectile stin entoichia diakosmisi* (Thessaloniki, 1980).

²¹ Ann Terry, "The 'Opus Sectile' in the Euphrasius Cathedral at Poreč", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986), 147-164; colour plates in Milan Prelog, *The Basilica of Euphrasius in Poreč* (Zagreb, 1994), plates I-III, LVII-LVIII.

²² For a discussion of the term *poikilia*, see Michael Roberts, *The Jewelled Style. Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, 1989), 66-121.

certain whether all choices were by design or whether some came about ‘by chance’. In the Eufraiana colours are juxtaposed in bold combinations, contrasting round and square shapes, geometric and floral forms, large coloured fields and minute ornaments. *Poikilia* is expressed not only in the decoration of the apse, but in that of the church in general. The combination of different media and materials such as golden mosaics, intarsia, veined marbles, floor mosaics and polychrome stucco gives a vivacious impression.

Constantinopolitan church interiors presented a wide range of decorations. Leaving aside the obvious example of Hagia Sophia, which on account of its huge dimensions present a special case the aesthetic properties of which are not easily treated in a few paragraphs, the remains from Anicia Juliana’s Church of St Polyeuktos illustrates *poikilia* well. The fragments of coloured stones found at the excavation of the site include some ten different versicoloured (different colours within one stone) and variegated (veined, striated) marbles and stones.²³ The architectural sculpture boasts intricate carved ornaments, which were presumably originally painted.²⁴ Furthermore, ciborium columns have sumptuous inlay of amethyst and green, blue and gold glass (Fig. 4). This particular way of decorating a column shaft, found also in other churches, calls to mind the technique of jewellery and the sumptuary arts.²⁵ These columns – suggesting gold, amethyst, emerald and sapphire – recall Biblical splendour, as in the Apocalypse’s description of heavenly Jerusalem built of gold and precious stones. St Polyeuktos’ interior decoration further comprised the abovementioned sculpted heads and now unfortunately lost golden mosaics.²⁶

THE *POIKILIA* OF MOSAICS

Mosaics of gold, silver and coloured glass were of course the artistic medium par excellence in Byzantium. In spite of its being by nature a highly colourful medium, it was actually in mosaics a monochrome aesthetics was occasionally expressed. However, the impetus was religious rather than aes-

²³ Harrison, *Excavations*, 168-181; *idem*, *A Temple for Byzantium. The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana’s Palace-Church in Istanbul* (Austin, TX, 1989), colour plates 80-81.

²⁴ Laura Pasquini Vecchi, “La scultura di S. Polieucto: episodio saliente nel quadro della cultura artistica di Costantinopoli”, *Bizantinistica*, seconda serie, 1 (1999), 109-144.

²⁵ Harrison, *Temple*, 78-79, figs. 82-83; Brigitte Pitarakis, “L’orfèvre et l’architecte: autour d’un groupe d’édifices constantinopolitains du VI^e siècle”, in *The Material and the Ideal*. Ed. by Anthony Cutler & Arietta Papaconstantinou [The Medieval Mediterranean, 70] (Leiden, 2007), 63-74, esp. 71-72.

²⁶ Multimedial decoration is seen also in Byzantine-influenced buildings in the West, thus the Tempietto Longobardo at Cividale del Friuli in northeast Italy, ca 750/760 was decorated with painted figural and ornamental stuccoes, old and new architectural sculpture, paintings and mosaic, Bente Kiilerich, “The Rhetoric of Materials in the Tempietto Longobardo at Cividale”, in *VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto*. Ed. by Valentino Pace (Cividale del Friuli, 2010), 93-102.

thetic: the iconoclastic decoration of the apse in Hagia Eirene, Constantinople, shows a large gold cross outlined in black against a gold ground. Still, such minimalist, dematerialized symbolism was the exception to the rule. Most mosaics were figurative, often of complex narrative design. They displayed a multicoloured vision, a *poikilia* created from thousands, at times even millions of tiny mosaic tesserae.

In order to explore how Byzantine mosaic artists came up with sophisticated solutions, modern restoration of the monuments – which when overdone is unfortunately detrimental to the authenticity of the work as an historical monument – makes possible a close study of technical-aesthetic features from scaffolding. Details which otherwise are difficult to detect (and obviously are tricks of the trade not intended to be detected) now appear. The early Byzantine mosaics in the Rotunda of St George at Thessaloniki, probably commissioned by Theodosius I, are of utmost importance for appreciating the sophisticated use of colour and the play of monochrome and polychrome effects.²⁷ At the summit of the cupola Christ appeared in the guise of Sol Apollo, a lost middle section contained a band of white-clad angels, while the better preserved zone below depicts a splendid architecture-scape in gold with martyrs in prayer.²⁸ In the Rotunda mosaic each individual tessera could be used like a dot of paint; seen from a distance the dots blend together as in pointillist painting (Fig. 5). For instance, to create the impression of purple in the *tablion* of a saint's *chlamys*, tesserae in blue and orange-red were set next to one another: seen from a distance they appear to the eye purple, but right in front of the wall one notes the optical mixing that has tricked the eye.²⁹ The artists varied this pointillist formula. Hence in one garment the tesserae of the *tablia* are set in blue and dark red resulting in a deep purple; in another interspersed with light orange cubes and lighter blue results in a different purple shade.

Since a single hue was created visually by juxtaposing cubes of different colour, it may be claimed that polychromy was used in this case to give a monochrome effect. Seen from afar the general impression is of saints dressed in purple or white set against a golden architecture on a golden ground. But seen from close up (from the scaffolding) the coloured areas are broken down into their individual multicoloured fractions. In order to create

²⁷ I am most grateful to ephor Dr Melina Païsidou for allowing the photographing of the mosaics in May 2009.

²⁸ Colour photos in Hjalmar Torp, *Mosaikkene i St.Georg-Rotunden i Thessaloniki* (Oslo, 1963).

²⁹ Bente Kiilerich, "Picturing Ideal Beauty: the Saints in the Rotunda at Thessaloniki", *Antiquité tardive* 15 (2007), 321-336, esp. 334-336. It may be speculated whether the artists were familiar with Aristotelian and later discussions of colour, e.g. Alexander of Aphrodisias, ca 200, who notes that "the same colour seen up close and from afar appears different" (*Man-tissa* 145.30 f.), Todd Stuart Ganson, "Alexander of Aphrodisias on the Role of Color Appearances", *Ancient Philosophy* 23 (2003), 383-393, at 383.

a porphyry hue, the artists used other optical illusions: the saints' purple *paenulae* and *chlamydes* are actually composed of various shades of a rather dull lilac/violet; a brownish violet was achieved by placing light olive tesserae next to lilac. White robes were shaded in light green or highlighted with silver cubes. In combination with the gold surrounding them all garments obtained an astounding luminosity.

Like the Rotunda, the monastery church at Daphne outside Athens is currently (1999-2010) undergoing restoration. Again the viewing of the mosaics, not in the intended manner from ground level, but from the scaffolding, makes it possible to evaluate the combinations and effects of colour.³⁰ Due to the heavy restorations following an earthquake in the late nineteenth century, it must be taken into account that certain areas may deviate from the original setting of the mosaics. In comparison with the early mosaics in the Rotunda at Thessaloniki, the technique is now more simplified, the number of colours is reduced and the tesserae are more homogenous in size. The execution of individual areas and figures generally becomes more economic with time: around 1080-1100 there are fewer and larger figures with less detail. In the centre of the Rotunda, Christ-Sol is in the tradition of Apollo, while – in marked contrast – at the site of the ancient sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne, the mighty and awe-inspiring Christ Pantocrator bust in the dome is reminiscent rather of the majestic Homeric Zeus.³¹ Dressed predominantly in brown (where one might have expected purplish tints) and blue, a small part of his garment is set with rows of tesserae in silver, gold, red and purple, all colours suggesting light (*pyrros*: flame-coloured, *porphyreos*: purple, shining).³² In order to make a golden garment glitter, it was sufficient to use a dichromy of gold tesserae set off with others in a dull grey, reminiscent of the chrysography technique of enamels. This created shadow and depth and made the shiny gold stand out (Fig. 6).

Both early and late examples suggest that Byzantine artists used chromatic effects consciously. But polychromy and polymateriality were part of an overall design. Major programmes were carefully planned with regard to choice of media, composition and to the physical execution of individual elements. One proof of this is the layout of images following an 'integrating

³⁰ Thanks to Fabienne Joubert and Jean-Pierre Caillet for gaining access to the scaffolding, in connection with the colloquium 'Relations et échange entre Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIIIe siècle', École française d'Athènes, 2.-4. April 2009.

³¹ Gabriel Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1898); Ernst Diez & Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (London, 1948); Nano Chatzidakis, *Byzantine Mosaics* (Athens, 1994), 241-244, colour plates 96-124; Robin Cormack, "Rediscovering the Christ Pantocrator at Daphni", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008), 55-74.

³² For colour terms and symbolism see most recently Mark Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 2009) with reference to earlier literature.

system of proportion'.³³ Proportions are a means to an end, namely the achieving of a harmonious image. Thus although proportions are a technical device, they have an aesthetic aspect as well. Moreover they express a God-given order, a reflection of the *kosmos* laid out by God the *geometer*. In this reflected microcosmos the individual parts are rendered meticulously, the aesthetic and artistic qualities of the whole and the parts being equally stressed.

In their various colours and combinations, the *poikilia* of rich and splendid materials and substances visualized the sacred character of Byzantium. So it is hardly surprising that monochromy is rare in Byzantine art.

³³ Hjalmar Torp, *The integrating system of proportion in Byzantine art* (Rome, 1984); *idem*, "Al di là del modello: schemata, strutture geometriche e misure nelle immagini medievali", in *Medioevo: I modelli*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Parma, 2002), 85-97.



Fig.1 St. Eudoxia, inlaid marble plaque, Constantinople, Konstantinos Lips Monastery, 10th c; Istanbul, Archeological Museum.

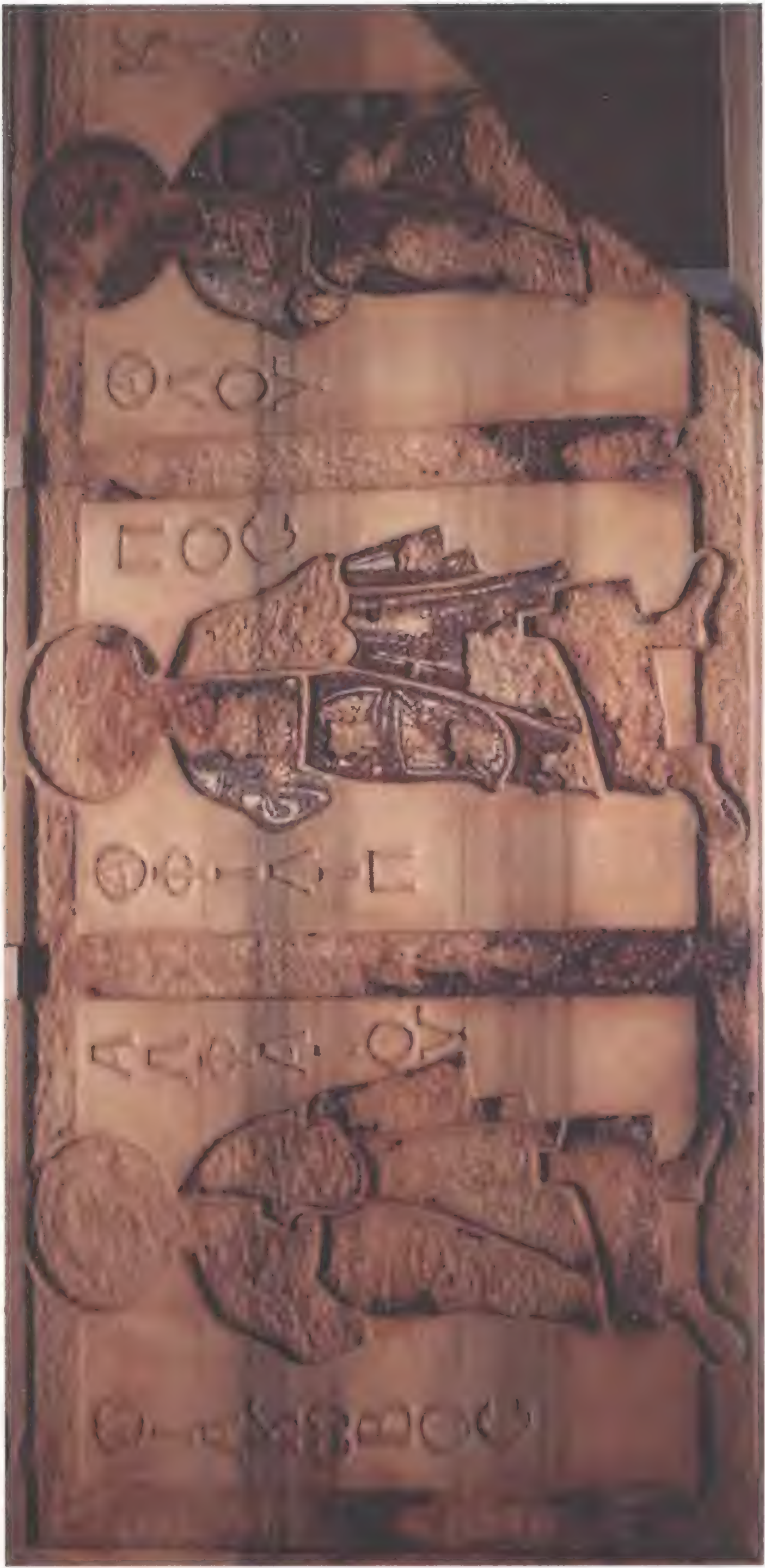


Fig. 2. *Templon* screen, Thessaloniki, Blatadon Monastery, 10th c., Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum.



Fig. 3. *Opus sectile* decoration of a bishop throne, Parenzo (Poreč), *Basilica Euphrasiana*, 6th c.



Fig. 4. Detail of inlaid column, Constantinople, St. Polyeuktos, 524-27; Istanbul, Archeological Museum.



Fig. 5. Anonymous soldier saint, mosaic, Thessaloniki, Rotonda of Saint George, 4th c.



Fig. 6. Detail of a mosaic, Christ of the Anastasis scene, Daphne Monastery, ca 1100.

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The Portrayal of the Wife of Potiphar by Romanos Melodos

Leena Mari Peltomaa

There is no doubt that the Byzantine reading of the Old Testament story of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar is reflected in Romanos' kontakion "On Joseph".¹ Typically, in order to praise Joseph, the *melodós*² makes "sin itself in all its seductive force" visible through the character he creates for Potiphar's wife.³ The object of her sexual desire, Joseph, is worthy of praise, "because sin did not enslave his body".⁴ A similar interpretation is also found in three texts before Romanos, in the homilies of Ephrem the Syrian,

¹ "On Joseph" (no. 44), in *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica genuina*. Ed. by Paul Maas and C.A. Trypanis (Oxford, 1963). The translation this paper follows is from R.J. Schork, "The Temptation of Joseph", in *idem, Sacred Song from the Byzantine Pulpit. Romanos the Melodist* (Gainesville, FL, 1995), 158-175. Other translations with commentary: José Grosdidier de Matons, "Hymne de la tentation de Joseph" (no. 6 = 2^e hymne de Joseph), in *Romanos le Mélode. Hymnes*, I. Ed. by José Grosdidier de Matons [Sources chrétiennes, 99] (Paris, 1964), 247-293; Riccardo Maisano, "La tentazione di Giuseppe" (no. 44), in *Romano il Melodo*, II. Ed. by Riccardo Maisano (Turin, 2002), 242-267; Johannes Koder, "Hymnus auf den Versuchung des Joseph" (No. 35), in *Romanos Melodos. Die Hymnen*, II [Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 64] (Stuttgart, 2006), 463-477.

² The epithet *melodós*, poet-composer, is indicative of Romanos' surpassing excellence amongst Byzantine hymn composers, see Jan Olof Rosenqvist's characterization in "Ein poetischer Höhepunkt: Der Hymnendichter Romanos Melodos", in *Die byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453*. Übersetzt von Jan Olof Rosenqvist und Diether R. Reinsch (Berlin & New York, 2007), 24-26; the Swedish original: *idem, Bysantinsk litteratur från 500-talet till Konstantinopels fall 1453* (Skellefteå, 2003), 38-41.

³ Derek Krueger, "Romanos the Melodist and Christian Self in Early Byzantium", in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006*, vol. 1, *Plenary Papers*. Ed. by Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot, 2006), 255-274, here 268.

⁴ Str. 22.4.

Basil of Seleucia and Ps.Chrysostom.⁵ Nevertheless, Romanos' depiction of Potiphar's wife remains without a comparable parallel, for he makes this biblical figure an active subject by letting her voice what he imagines to be female sensations. Attitudes to sexual desire, considered as sin, have changed since the time Romanos was active, the era of Justinian (527-565),⁶ and the time is ripe for rereading this hymn as a mirroring of a most natural phenomenon in life, sexual attraction.⁷ However, this paper on Romanos' version of the happenings in the house of Potiphar will only indirectly focus on the desire of its mistress. There is one feature that Romanos has added to the characterization in patristic writings: her strong status consciousness. Here we will focus on aspects of social life manifested by her expressions related to status. These aspects, completing and framing the portrait of Potiphar's wife, exemplify society in the age of Justinian as well.

The kontakion on Joseph, based on Genesis 39.1-12, was composed for Monday in Holy Week,⁸ to exhort Christians to abstain from desires of the flesh in order to be worthy of celebrating the Resurrection of the Lord.⁹ The hymn reflects a scriptural passage that is only a part of the well-known story of the impact of the wife of Potiphar on the fate of Joseph. The "fact" that Joseph was handsome and good-looking, serves as an introduction to the story.¹⁰ Romanos' poem of 22 strophes in 374 lines is built on the following plot: "And after a time his master's wife cast her eyes on Joseph and said, 'Lie with me'.¹¹ But he refused and said to his master's wife, 'Look, with me here, my master has no concern about anything in the house, and he has put everything that he has in my hand. He is not greater in this house than I am, nor has he kept back anything from me except yourself, because you are his wife. How then could I do this great wickedness, and sin against God? And although she spoke to Joseph day after day, he would not consent to lie be-

⁵ Ephrem the Syrian, Λόγος εἰς τὸν πάγκαλον Ἰωσήφ, in: *Οσίου Εφραίμ του Σύρου έργα*, VII. Ed. by K.G. Phrantzoles (Thessalonike, 1998), 260-300; Ps.-Chrysostom, Εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης, PG 56.587-590; CPG 4566, De Joseph et de castitate, cf. CPG 4546, In psalmum 75; Bas.Sel. Or. 8, Εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, PG 85, 112-125.

⁶ Romanos died probably before 562. To the "era of Justinian" is to be included also the reign of the Emperor Justin I (518-527), who was the uncle and predecessor of the Emperor Justinian I, see the thorough introduction to Romanos in *Romanos Melodos. Die Hymnen*, I. Übersetzt und erläutert von Johannes Koder [Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 62] (Stuttgart, 2005), 9-48.

⁷ On the attitudes, see Schork's introduction, 158.

⁸ See Koder, *Romanos II*, 745.

⁹ See the three prooimia of the kontakion.

¹⁰ Gen. 39,6: Καὶ ἦν Ἰωσήφ καλὸς τῷ εἶδει καὶ ὡραῖος τῇ ὥψει σφόδρα. Translation is from NRSV. Another rendering: "well built and handsome. No other male is so described in Scripture", cf. *The JPC Torah Commentary. Genesis. The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation. Commentary by Nahum M. Sarna* (Philadelphia, 1989), 272.

¹¹ Gen. 39,7: καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς ἐπὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ εἶπεν Κοιμήθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ.

side her or to be with her.¹² One day, however, when he went into the house to do his work, and while no one else was in the house, she caught hold of his garment, saying, ‘Lie with me!’ But he left his garment in her hand, and fled and ran outside.”¹³

The drama Romanos created includes seventeen strophes with dialogues.¹⁴ It culminates with a scene, staged according to patristic tradition,¹⁵ where Joseph as the “great athlete” meets the wife of Potiphar.¹⁶ This scene provides no reference to social setting, for it takes place in heavenly spheres.¹⁷ There is a certain social aspect in that something motivating Joseph in his resistance to Potiphar’s wife is his awareness of his status as his master’s slave.¹⁸ Fundamentally opposed to the immoral affair, he remains unaffected by the temptations of his mistress. Nothing, neither behest nor persuasion, nor even threats, can make him change his mind. As no hints or signs of eroticism or sexuality from Joseph’s part appear in the text,¹⁹ one is given to understand that Joseph is uninterested in the affair with his mistress.²⁰ However, this does not mean that Romanos is praising his hero for struggling with temptations he did not feel. This seeming inconsistency only indicates that Romanos shares the typical view of the patristic age that women, simply by being women, lead men into temptation.²¹ It was the hymn writer’s duty to “draw sharply defined lessons about correct Christian behavior”, as R. J. Schork aptly describes Romanos’ task.²² Accordingly,

¹² Gen. 39,10: ἡνίκα δὲ ἐλάλει τῷ Ἰωσηφ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτῇ καθεύδειν μετ’ αὐτῆς τοῦ συγγεννέσθαι αὐτῇ.

¹³ Gen. 39,12: καὶ ἐπεσπάσατο αὐτὸν τῶν ἱματίων λέγουσα Κοιμήθητι μετ’ ἐμοῦ. Καὶ καταλιπὼν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς ἔφυγεν καὶ ἐξήλθεν ἔξω.

¹⁴ Str. from 2 to 18. Potiphar’s wife expresses herself in str. 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 18. On the “dramatic character” of Romanos’ hymns, see the well-founded view of Johannes Koder, in *ibid.*, “Imperial Propaganda in the Kontakia of Romanos the Melode”, *DOP* 62 (2008), 275-291, esp. 288 with notes.

¹⁵ Evident in Ephrem the Syrian, Basil of Seleucia and Ps.Chrysostom (see n. 5).

¹⁶ J.H. Barkhuizen, “Romanos’ Encomium on Joseph: Portrait of an Athlete”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 40 (1990), 91-106. It is to be noticed that this character is no literary invention of Romanos.

¹⁷ It is clear that this psychological drama was played only on the stage of mind. So, e.g., Ps.-Chrysostom, PG 56.588: ἦν οὖν ἰδεῖν θέατρον μέγιστον, οὐκ ἐπίγειον, ἀλλ’ οὐράνιον.

¹⁸ This is a very complicated question which cannot be discussed here. On the Greek fathers’ attitudes to slavery, see “Slavery”, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3 (1991).

¹⁹ Cf. 7.1-6, 10.13-15, 14.5-12.

²⁰ The interpretation of Grosdidier de Matons (p. 248) that Joseph is “la figure du véritable ascète, celui pour qui l’abstinence n’est pas simplement pratique extérieure, mais renoncement du cœur” is certainly correct if we consider the emphasis Joseph puts on his chastity. From the other point of view, this means that he is immune to the temptations of the wife of Potiphar.

²¹ Cf. Averil Cameron, “Early Christianity and the Discourse of Female Desire”, in *Women in Ancient Societies*. Ed. by Léonie J. Archer, Susan Fischler & Maria Wyke (Houndmills, 1994), 152-168.

²² Schork, 161.

Joseph's virtue, his chastity,²³ the opposite of the vice represented by the Egyptian woman, is made as striking as possible. Earlier studies illuminate sufficiently the eroticism and moral weakness of this figure.²⁴ However, in order to give some notion of Romanos' depiction of the frenzies of this woman, we shall summarize the main points prior to the first dialogue.

The reason why Potiphar's wife cast her eyes on Joseph is understandable: in the words of Genesis, "Joseph was handsome and good-looking". Romanos puts great emphasis on Joseph's physical attractiveness²⁵ but also perhaps lets Potiphar's wife grasp his inner beauty.²⁶ When the wife of Potiphar saw Joseph, her heart was "totally gripped by the mania of desire".²⁷ It is clear from the text that mania arises from a lack of self-control: the wife of Potiphar did not govern her passions, the lures of the flesh.²⁸ In the context of the "scandalous circumstances" the poet depicts brilliantly the erotic sufferings of the woman.²⁹ Fabrizio Conca points out in this section erotic motifs and topical expressions which are known from ancient Greek through to Byzantine literature.³⁰ Conca shows that Romanos, though using the same metaphor of fire for erotic pleasures, gives a new, Christian meaning to eros.³¹ This change of meaning does not in the least diminish the erotic energy Romanos ascribes to the wife of Potiphar: "Rampaging desire laid siege to her mind, / but she could not reveal her passion. / When Joseph was present, she burned in agony; / when he left, the flames blazed even higher."³²

So, the mistress is burning in agony and trying to entice Joseph by every means imaginable. She uses flattery and tender words.³³ She uses the whole repertoire of female weapons: braids, cosmetics, gleaming gold chains, ex-

²³ σωφροσύνη, chastity, self-control. This virtue seems to be for Romanos a principle of life, "fortified by philosophy". Philosophy, again, is "the art of arts, the science of sciences", and "teaches men wisdom and courage, self-control and justice", cf. 1.5-11.

²⁴ Fabrizio Conca, "Giuseppe e la moglie di Putifarre" (Romano il Melode, contacio 44 M-T), in *Contributi di filologia greca*. Ed. by Italo Gallo. (Neapel, 1990), 143-158. J.H. Barkhuizen, "Romanos Melodos, On the Temptation on Joseph: A Study on the Use of His Imagery", in *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 1 (1990), 1-31; *idem*, "Romanos' Encomium on Joseph".

²⁵ 3.12: his handsome face tortured his mistress (ἔτρωσε δὲ ἐκείνην ὡραιότης προσώπου); 4.10: she was magnetized by lust for her handsome slave (εὐμορφίαν τοῦ παιδός).

²⁶ 4.13-14: ὅσον αὐτὸς τῷ κάλλει ἐξέλαμπε, / ταύτης ὁ νοῦς τοσοῦτον ἐξέλειπεν.

²⁷ 5.1: Ὅλην τῆς Αἰγυπτίας τὴν καρδίαν συνείχεν / ἢ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μανία.

²⁸ Joseph, again, mastered his passions, 2.7: καὶ τῶν φιλοσάρκων παθῶν ἐκυρίευσεν. This topic is discussed from str. 2 to 5, the emphasis being that "all sinners are slaves of passion", cf. 4.5.

²⁹ Str. 4 and 5.

³⁰ Conca, 147-150.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 148-149.

³² 5.9-12 Ὁ μὲν πόθος ὁ ἀκόλαστος ἐπολιόρκει τὸν νοῦν, / τὸ δὲ πάθος οὐκ ἡδύνατο φανερώσαι τὸ αὐτῆς / αὕτη γὰρ καὶ παρόντος Ἰωσήφ ὠδυνᾶτο, / πάλιν δὲ καὶ ἀπόντος ἀνεφλέγετο πλέον.

³³ 5.13: λόγοις αὐτὸν χρηστοῖς ἐκολάκευε.

pensive clothing and perfumes.³⁴ She approaches Joseph through a confidante and then summons him herself from time to time to chat.³⁵ All in vain. The outburst is to be expected: “You are my purchased slave. You were sold to me to serve me.”³⁶ The opening shows that Romanos takes into consideration the hierarchy of social groups, which the Genesis story does not do in the same way.³⁷ Thus the high rank of the master’s wife strikes the basic note for her relation to Joseph in Romanos’ narrative. It goes without saying that in Byzantine understanding it was the position of Potiphar that determined his wife’s status.³⁸ In this hymn Romanos does not tell who Potiphar was, but in another of his hymns about Joseph he mentions that Potiphar was a cook.³⁹ According to the Septuaginta, Potiphar was a eunuch of Pharaoh and his chief cook.⁴⁰ Whatever Potiphar’s title, Romanos probably deemed him to be a very high official, because he was servant of Pharaoh, the king.⁴¹

³⁴ 6.6-11: Τοὺς μὲν πλοκάμους τῆς κεφαλῆς σου πλέξον ὡς δίκτυα κατὰ τούτου· / τὴν δὲ τοῦ προσώπου μορφήν κατακάλλυνον, / πᾶσι ῥοδοχρόοις κοσμοῦσα σοφίσμασι· / φαίδρυνόν σου καὶ τὸν τράχηλον τοῖς χρυσοπλόκοις δεσμοῖς· / ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀμφιάσθητι πολυτίμητον στολήν, / μύροις ἄλειψαι πλείστοις ἐκθηλύνουσι νέους·

³⁵ 7.9-10: Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐθεράπευσε διὰ μέσης γυναικός, / καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ μετεπέμπετο καὶ ὠμίλει μετ’ αὐτοῦ.

³⁶ 8.5: Δοῦλος ἐμὸς ὦνητὸς ὑπάρχεις (Schork translates: “I bought you as my slave”), πέπρασαί μοι, ἵνα μοι δουλεύῃς. The idea “you were sold to me to serve me” suggests that Romanos was familiar with some of the rich extra-biblical, apocryphal and legendary traditions, cf. Otto Mazal, Bild 31 (Blatt 16r = Seite 31) “Josephs Verführung durch die Frau des Potiphar”, in *Kommentar zur Wiener Genesis. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex theol. gr. 31 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980), 151-153. These traditions were known also in the Islamic world, cf. “The Chapter of Zulaykha”, in Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *Women in the Qur’an. Traditions and Interpretations* (Oxford, 1994), 50-56.

³⁷ Cf. Gen. 39,14-19, where the hierarchy is concerned with religious identity and Joseph is called a Hebrew by the wife of Potiphar. *The JPC Torah Commentary*, 274: “The woman does not term Joseph a slave [Gen. 39.14: “He has brought among us a Hebrew to laugh at us”]. She artfully knows how to adjust her language to the needs of the situation. In addressing her domestics, probably Egyptians, she appeals to their suspicion of foreigners and flatteringly employs the plural ‘us’, as though to imply that Joseph is threatening their common values and that she and they have mutual interests to defend that erase differences in class and status.”

³⁸ Consult the chapter, “On the Status of Women in Roman Law”, in Judith Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire. A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood* (London and New York, 2002), 16-80.

³⁹ No. 43, Maas-Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica genuina*.

⁴⁰ Gen. 39,1: Ἰωσήφ δὲ κατήχθη εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐκτίσατο αὐτὸν Πετεφρης ὁ εὐνοῦχος Φαραῶ, ἀρχιμάγερὸς, ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος. According to the Bible of the Masoretes (the text used in *The Holy Bible*. New Revised Standard Version. Anglicized Edition, Oxford, 1995), Potiphar was an officer of Pharaoh and the captain of the guard.

⁴¹ Cf. “Potiphar”, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16, 2nd ed. (Detroit & New York, 2007), 419.

The wife of Potiphar goes on: “I have made you the master of the entire household.”⁴² After the fashion of Genesis, Romanos makes it clear that the promotion of Joseph took place through his master’s will,⁴³ which in Byzantium, as a matter of fact, was the only chance of improving one’s life as a slave. Letting the mistress suggest that Joseph is master of the household because of *her* most likely means that Romanos wants to present this woman as though she considered herself to be the real head of the house – a most embarrassing idea for people in the epoch of Justinian. In Roman as well as Byzantine society the head of the family was a man. This was also laid down in law.⁴⁴ It is hardly imaginable that Romanos’ audience could be insensitive to this point.

Her speech continues: “Now become the master of your mistress. / I do not consider it an insult to lower myself before you.”⁴⁵ Here the poet puts into the mouth of the wife of Potiphar words that contradict the ancient notions of owners’ relationship to their slaves.⁴⁶ As to the invitation “now become...”, Romanos’ listeners owned slaves and slaves may even have attended the service, and it is likely that everyone believed that it was the owner’s right to force slaves to do what they were unwilling to do. Still the idea in itself, not found in the Genesis story, that a slave could become the master of a mistress was certainly as absurd and offensive to Constantinopolitans of the epoch of Justinian as it had been to ancient Romans. Considering the inherited Roman legal system and social structure,⁴⁷ the reaction of the early Byzantines as Eastern Roman citizens would have been that the free woman had forgotten the obligations of her reputation and status – that her actions were shameful.⁴⁸ Moreover, though the vast majority of people

⁴² 8.7-9: ὅλου σε δεσπότην τοῦ οἴκου πεποίηκα.

⁴³ 3.13: The husband entrusted his household to Joseph (οὗτος αὐτῷ τὸν οἶκον παρέδωκεν).

⁴⁴ “Strictly speaking, we call a *familia* several persons, who are subjected under the power of one person. ... He who has dominion in the home is called *paterfamilias*, and he is called by this name correctly, even though he does not have a son; for we are not describing not only the person, but also the legal status.”, Evans Grubbs, 18, cit. from D.50.16.195 (Ulpian) = *The Digest of Justinian*. Latin text edited by Th. Mommsen with the aid of Paul Krueger. English translation edited by Alan Watson (Philadelphia, 1985).

⁴⁵ 8.8-9: γενοῦ δὲ κάμοῦ τῆς κυρίας σου κύριος / οὐ λογιζομαι ὑβρίζεσθαι / καταβαίνουσα πρὸς σέ.

⁴⁶ Slaves were property: Youval Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 19: A slave is “a person who is the property of another and who can be alienated by sale, purchase, or gift; a person whose slave condition comes either from the mother ... or from captivity, or from sale, hence by imperial law.” See also “Slavery”, in *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, vol. 13 (Leiden & Boston, 2008), 538-539.

⁴⁷ Andrea Giardina, “The Family in the Late Roman World”, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 14. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600 (Cambridge, 2000), 392-415, esp. “Law and Society”, 399-406.

⁴⁸ Cf. Evans Grubbs, 6-12.

did not know the letter of the law, they were aware that a terrible punishment awaited any woman discovered in secret dealings with her slave.⁴⁹

Thus, since the story itself warrants it, it seems that Romanos deliberately employs the pun of the inverted roles of mistress and slave in order to increase his listeners' abhorrence for this female character whom he lets shake the established social order. Her affirmation, "I do not consider it an insult to lower myself before you", departs from the social hierarchy, the existence and validity of which neither Romanos nor his contemporaries questioned. Prostitutes formed the lowest rank of the social scale and slaves were at the very bottom. Therefore the opinion of the wife of Potiphar as a whole, "I do not consider it an insult to lower myself before you / since there is no real difference between master and slave,"⁵⁰ is to be understood as an ironic assertion by Romanos: Potiphar's wife is arguing for equality on the ground that human nature is shared through Eve's motherhood!⁵¹ It must have sounded extremely ridiculous in the ears of contemporaries who always knew whom to blame for everything that had gone wrong after the expulsion from Paradise.⁵²

The wife of Potiphar tells Joseph that she has seen that his behavior is "perfect in every regard". She first confesses that she favors him above all his fellow slaves and then, assessing the value of Joseph to herself,⁵³ makes him a proposition: "If you yield to me, I shall heap upon you unimaginable riches, / return your favors with magnificent rewards. / I would recommend you even more highly to my husband, / and do everything to see that you are immediately freed. / Look, the man who sleeps with his mistress cannot be called a slave."⁵⁴ Her speech ends with a threat of what will happen to Jo-

⁴⁹ Consult "Free women and slave men", in Evans Grubbs, 176-178, esp. Cod. Theod. 9.9.9. In the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian, "the union of a free woman with her own slave continued to be punished", *ibid.*, 180.

⁵⁰ 8.10: δεσποτείας καὶ δουλείας γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι διαφορά.

⁵¹ 8.11-14: I have been taught that that one man, Adam is the father of all men / and that one woman, Eve, is our primeval mother. / All men have been created equal, / since we all share the same human nature.

⁵² The Eve *topos*, through which women were associated with sin and sexual temptation, is recurrent in Byzantine sources of any kind and too huge a social issue to be dealt with in this paper. That Christian orientation to female sex took place in relation to the figure of Eve, whose antithesis was the Virgin Mary (see Cameron, 158-165) is evinced also by the end of the present hymn (22.11-16): "Just as Potiphar's wife once assaulted Joseph, / so too does temptation drag me toward forbidden desires. / But I cry to you, omnipotent Lord: / "Christ, ransom me from the tyranny of sin / so that, aided by the Theotokos, / I may prove as faithful a servant as Joseph was."

⁵³ 9.3-5: In your eyes, complete respect; on your lips, total obedience. / You are very sensitive to my moods, just as I desire (ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι γὰρ τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσί σου, / ὡς ποθῶ, κέκτησαι, / καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχεις αἴσθησιν εὐσχήμονα, καθάπερ θέλω).

⁵⁴ 9.7-11: πλείστων γὰρ καλῶν σε ἐμπλήσω πεισθέντα μοι / καὶ δωροδοκίαις πλουσίαις ἀμείψομαι / καὶ γὰρ πλείον σε παράθωμαι τῷ συμβίῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, / καὶ γενέσθαι σε ἐλεύθερον κατασπεύσω παρ' αὐτοῦ / δοῦλος γὰρ οὐ κληθήσῃ, συγκαθεύδων δεσποίνῃ.

seph if he does not yield to her. Now, this passage reveals the state of the power relations in her *familia*: the promotion of Joseph is in the hands of Potiphar, the head of the household. His wife can only recommend Joseph's advancement but does not have the power of making a decision. Thus, the pretentious words at the beginning of her speech, to the effect that she had made Joseph the master of the entire household, prove to be an attempt to dazzle Joseph on the level of the narrative, and, on the level of authorial intention, aim to provoke indignation.

The promise of Potiphar's wife to do everything for Joseph's liberation is apparently not motivated by the feelings Joseph raises in her, but by her status consciousness: "The man who sleeps with his mistress cannot be called a slave". The wording of Romanos reveals that the stress is on the mistress' rank. The relevance of social status as a general rule becomes once again evident as she tries to flatter Joseph, who had just countered her challenge by telling about the "prophecy" [his dream] from God, concerning his future in Egypt.⁵⁵ While expressing her observations of Joseph's behavior, she makes the following analysis:

You have never adopted the character of a slave.
I learned that from your actions; of that I am certain
you have discharged your duties in a way fitting for a free man.
In every task your performance has been flawless,
and you have brought no harm to your fellow-slaves.
So, you are obviously the offspring of noble parents.⁵⁶

In a society where "honor was what one had in the eyes of others, due to birth and social status",⁵⁷ a poet of Romanos' quality was certainly able to pinpoint what kind of considerations the attitudes of people around him were based on. Thus the irony of the situation he developed, that the mistress' status consciousness appears in circumstances that annul the honor implied by her rank, could not escape Romanos' audience, "in whose eyes" Joseph's qualification as irreproachable undoubtedly deserved honor.

As to the possible liberation of Joseph, the idea itself looks quite realistic in the way Romanos has the wife of Potiphar express it. If Romanos' audience took the proposition at face value (on the level of the narrative, of course, but as if the liberation could happen in their neighborhood), they understood that she was offering Joseph the possibility of gaining the status

⁵⁵ Str. 12.

⁵⁶ 13.3-9: Ὅτι δούλου τρόπους / οὐδαμῶς κέκτησαι, / δι' ἔργων τοῦτο ἔμαθον καὶ πέπεισμαι
καὶ μαρτυρῶ σοι / καὶ γὰρ τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐλευθέρῳ σὺ ἐξετέλεσας λειτουργίαν / γέγονας ἐν
πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου ἄμεμπτος / καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνδούλους τοὺς σοὺς ἀκακούργητος, / ὅθεν
φαίνει καταγόμενος ἐκ γονέων εὐγενῶν.

⁵⁷ Evans Grubbs, 12.

of a freedman.⁵⁸ The true nature of the woman's lavish proposition must have been at once clear to them: in their society a freedman owes duties to his mistress.⁵⁹ This is revealed also by words of the wife of Potiphar as she continues: "This is the reason [being the offspring of noble parents] you have come into my hands / so that I can become the source of magnificent riches for you, / so that through me the land of Egypt will serve you. / One condition though: I am your mistress..."⁶⁰ In spite of her daring words, the wife of Potiphar is keen on the role she wants to give to her husband, who in the end would be the one with authority to act on Joseph's behalf. In the same breath as she reminds him that her master obeys her desires in every instance, she says that Joseph's master "has great expectations" of his slave.⁶¹ It can be assumed that the threat voiced by the wife of Potiphar, "I can ruin you or place you at his right hand",⁶² represents the power conditions in Constantinopolitan society as understood by the people, whether freeborn, freedmen or slaves by rank.

The dispute between the mistress and Joseph culminates now in terms of her immoral character. First the words of the wife of Potiphar reveal that her actions are subject to the approval of her husband: "He cherishes me as his totally chaste wife. / Until now I have been beyond reproach."⁶³ Then she is willing to abuse his trust: "As I have said, since the master trusts us, / and since no one on earth can see what we do, / why do you balk at obeying your mistress' invitation?"⁶⁴ And once more, for the last time, she puts stress on her rank: "This is an opportunity which your pleas could never have won (ἡξιώθης)."⁶⁵ So far as the purpose of this paper is concerned – the discussion of aspects of social life manifested by references to her rank – the text provides no concrete passages to be dealt with. Adultery, which is the main legal issue of the drama, is the matter that least interests the wife of Potiphar. "Legally, adultery was an offence committed against a married woman's husband."⁶⁶ Therefore, the social dimension of this unsuccessful affair was plain already at the outset to Romanos' contemporaries. If a slave, in the situation Joseph was found, does not yield to a such "utterly wanton

⁵⁸ Cf. *New Pauly*, 539.

⁵⁹ Evans Grubbs, 10-11.

⁶⁰ 13.10-13: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐλήλυθας εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμὰς / ἵνα γένωμαι πλείστων ἀγαθῶν ἀρχηγός σοι, / καὶ ἡ χώρα Αἰγύπτου δι' ἐμοῦ σοι δουλεύσῃ / μόνον ἐμὲ τὴν νῦν σου δεσπόζουσιν...

⁶¹ 15.3-6: Ὁ δεσπότης, ὡς οἶδας, ὁ σὸς καταπείθεται μου / τῇ βουλῇ πάντοτε, / ἔχει ἐν σοὶ ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας ἐκ τῆς προλήψεως τῆς προτέρας.

⁶² 15.5: δύναμαι κακῶσαί σε καὶ πάλιν παραθέσθαι τούτῳ.

⁶³ 15.7-8: στέργει καὶ ἐμέ, ὡς αἰεὶ σωφρονήσασαν / μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ νῦν ἀκατάγνωστος ἔμεινα.

⁶⁴ 15. 9-11: Τοῦ δεσπότου οὖν, ὡς εἶρηκα, πεποιθότος ἐφ' ἡμῖν, / οὐδενὸς δὲ τὸ πραττόμενον θεωροῦντος ἐπὶ γῆς, / τί ὀκνεῖς πειθαρχῆσαι τῇ ἐμῇ παρακλήσει...

⁶⁵ 15.12: ...ἥς οὐκ ἂν ἡξιώθης μετὰ σὰς παρακλήσεις;

⁶⁶ Evans Grubbs, 63.

woman”,⁶⁷ he would appear at court as accused for attempting sexual relations with his mistress⁶⁸ – or he would simply disappear like a steward of the Empress Theodora, according to Procopius’ *Secret History*.⁶⁹

It is totally impossible to know with certainty whether Romanos brought contemporary historical events to this particular hymn.⁷⁰ All that we can be sure about is that the female figure he created for the wife of Potiphar must have been credible to his audience. A fairy tale witch, a fictitious figure however demonic, would never have caused feelings of discomfiture or shame or whatever the poet wanted to provoke in his audience. It is, of course, impossible for us to know what Romanos’ audience sensed or thought while listening to this hymn. In principle, it can have been everything we are able to imagine and beyond. However, to a great degree their way of thinking and responding would certainly conform to behavioral conventions and norms reflecting their social order as structured by Roman law. From this it can be inferred that it was the social dimension Christian churchgoers recognized in the hymn which alerted them to associate the hymn’s teaching on correct behavior with their everyday lives. Consequently, since the figure of the wife of Potiphar “comes” from the social milieu of the place where Romanos lived, her portrayal can be regarded as historical and authentic, though fictional. In this sense the same also holds for the characters of Herodias and the Sinful Woman which Romanos introduced on the Justinianic stage.⁷¹ Concerning the question of historicity, one can conclude that Romanos’ poetry provides no information of historical accuracy, but it is a good source for assessing the dominant ideology of Byzantium and its social values.

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⁶⁷ 14.2. ἀσελγεστάτην.

⁶⁸ What him would happen could be told by the words of Potiphar’s wife (9.1-13): “If you do not yield to me, you will pay a just penalty. / I shall turn you over to barbed shackles. / I shall hand you over to a painful dead.” Cf. Evans Grubbs, 177.

⁶⁹ Reference to the suggestion of Schork, who does not exclude the hypothetical possibility that in Romanos’ poem there were “a subsurface allusion” to a contemporary event, cf. Schork, 160.

⁷⁰ It is unimaginable that the imperial couple tolerated any kind of criticism from their court poet and mouthpiece, consult Koder, 2008.

⁷¹ Cf. Leena Mari Peltomaa, “Herodias in the Poetry of Romanos the Melodist”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 56 (2006), 79-99; *eadem*, “Gender and Byzantine Studies from the Viewpoint of Methodology”, *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 140:1 (2005), 23-44.

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Byzantine “Encyclopedism”, Sacro-Profane Florilegia and the Life of Saint Cyril Phileotes

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In *The Discarded Image*, his well known introduction to Western medieval literature, C. S. Lewis remarks: “There was nothing which medieval people liked better, or did better, than sorting out and tidying up. Of all our modern inventions I suspect that they would most have admired the card index.”¹ One can make all sorts of legitimate claims about the intellectual and cultural contexts that give rise to encyclopedias, but we should not forget that the urge and the need to sort things out form an important part of the explanation.²

When people today speak of encyclopedic works, they generally mean works that aim at the presentation of the whole range of knowledge. To be encyclopedic in range is to be all encompassing. By extension, we also speak of an encyclopedic range within one particular area. In this sense we can also speak of florilegia or anthologies of encyclopedic range. The fifth century *Anthologium* of Stobaeus is a good example. However, an anthology is a collection of excerpts that may but usually does not have an encyclopedic arrangement, that is, a coherent arrangement systematically covering one or more fields of knowledge: the encyclopedic arrangement is not essential to the definition of anthology or florilegium. An encyclopedia may be itself an anthology – the *Suda* is, for example, pretty much a compilation of excerpts from earlier scholia and lexica. But a collection of excerpts is not a necessary part of the definition of encyclopedia.

¹ C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image. An introduction to Medieval and Renaissance literature* (Cambridge, 1994), 10.

² My contribution to the *Festschrift* for Jan Olof Rosenqvist is based on a paper I gave at Encyclopaedic Trends in Byzantium? An international conference Institute for Early Christian and Byzantine Studies, K.U.Leuven 6 - 8 May 2009. My thanks to the organizers of that conference, Caroline Macé and Peter Van Deun, for having invited me.

Encyclopedic compilations of one kind and another can be seen as a natural development of advanced scientific and scholarly activity in a literate culture. I say advanced, because a culture that can produce encyclopedias is a culture that has already reached the point of scientific specialization at which a need is felt for summarizing a body of knowledge as well as a need for facilitating information retrieval. Easy information retrieval is also a fundamental aspect in the compilation of florilegia.

In the concrete sense, an encyclopedia is a single, continuous, written work in which we expect to find a systematic summary of knowledge of all essential points at least within a given field. (We feel cheated when we look up something in an encyclopedia and it's not there. This is why we all love Wikipedia so much: instant gratification of our curiosity.) Encyclopedias in the concrete sense appear first among Latin authors of the Imperial period and remain a recurrent feature of Latin literature from then on up to and throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed, this kind of codification on a grand scale seems quite harmonious with our perceptions of the Roman character.

Some authors have sought affinities between Roman political imperialism and the various manifestations of the encyclopedic urge to possess the whole range of knowledge.³ Well known to Byzantinologists is Paul Lemerle's use of the term "encyclopédisme" to characterize the Byzantine literature of the 10th century.⁴ However, when Lemerle spoke in this context of "imperial encyclopedism", he did not mean an encyclopedism inspired by political imperialism but a scholarly activity indulged in and encouraged by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905-959) which resulted in specific compilations related to the history and administration of the empire.

Although there is something to the description of the tenth century as an age of encyclopedism, Paolo Odorico maintains that this involves an oversimplified and misleading use of the term encyclopedia.⁵ Indeed it is always difficult for us to characterize the literature of a by-gone age by the works that happen to have survived extant to our own day.⁶

³ So the editors and various contributors of *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*. Ed. by Jason König & Tim Whitmarsh (Cambridge, 2007). For a specific example, A.M. Riggsby, "Guides to the wor(l)d", 88-107, in which Riggsby relates the practice of adding Tables of Contents (*summaria*) to the imperialist ambitions and self-image of the Roman state, seeing, for instance, Pliny's use of the device as not so much intended for utility as for displaying his mastery.

⁴ Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* [Bibliothèque byzantine. Études, 6] (Paris, 1971), 267-300 (ch. 10).

⁵ Paolo Odorico, "La cultura della sillogé. 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole dei sapere di Giovanni Damasceno", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990), 1-23. See also Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *Bysantinsk litteratur från 500-talet till Konstantinopels fall 1453* (Skelefteå, 2003), 85-86.

⁶ To take the example of the *Suda* again, the one work a modern reader would happily describe as a Byzantine encyclopedia, dating it exactly remains a matter of educated guesswork

The works I will be considering here are not encyclopedic in the proper sense but have been generally classified as sacro-profane florilegia in the wider category of “spiritual florilegia”. However, these compilations are encyclopedic in some sense, in that the ones relevant to my discussion do cover a fairly full range of moral topics, so we can speak of them as displaying encyclopedic tendencies. The fundamental survey of Greek spiritual florilegia remains the article by Marcel Richard in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*.⁷ (By the way, a wonderful example of how an encyclopedia is part and parcel of scientific research.) Richard divided the florilegia into three classes, namely, the Damascene, the sacro-profane and the monastic florilegia.⁸ The monastic florilegia – the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius Sinaiticus, *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Evergetinon*, etc. – do not enter into my discussion at all. The Damascene florilegia are those that derive from the *Ἱερά* or *Sacra Parallela* attributed to Saint John of Damascus, and these florilegia are highly relevant for the sacro-profane ones I am considering. Richard specifically says that these are characterized by their encyclopedic tendency, the arrangement of chapters by the letters of the alphabet or in parallels, the abundant and orderly use of the Old and New Testaments, the ante-Nicaean Fathers, Philo and Flavius Josephus.

The *Sacra Parallela* comes with a preface describing its plan: The entire work is written in three books, the first of which concerns things of God, the second the state of human affairs, the third virtues and vices.⁹ The prologue also describes the author’s alphabetical index of references in terms that make it seem like an innovation. The author’s description reminds me of the way the Hellenistic historian Polybius describes his inclusion of Table of Contents or what he calls a *prographé*.¹⁰ Both the Damascene system of references or *parapompai* and Polybius’ *prographai* are described by their authors as a new device making it easy for readers to find what they are looking for, τὰ ζητούμενα.

Paolo Odorico suggested replacing the description of the literary trends of the tenth century as an “age of encyclopedism” with the label of “a culture of

based on our perceptions of the encyclopedic trends of this or that century which in turn are based on the works that happen to have survived in manuscript.

⁷ M. Richard, “Florilèges spirituels grecs”, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 5 (1964), cols. 475-512, repr. in *idem*, *Opera minora*, 1 (Turnhout & Leuven, 1976), no. 1.

⁸ Richard seems to have coined the phrase “sacro-profane florilegia”.

⁹ Πᾶσα δὲ ἡ πραγματεία ἐν τρισὶ βίβλοις ἀναγράφεται· καὶ τούτων ἡ μὲν πρώτη σύγκειται ἀφ’ ὧν μάλιστα προσήκοι Χριστιανοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, τὴν τριαδικὴν μονάδα φωτίζουσιν ἐκ προοιμίων ἡμᾶς. Ἡ δὲ δευτέρα, περὶ συστάσεως καὶ καταστάσεως τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων φησὶν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, ἰδίως τὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας περιεῖληφεν, PG 95 col. 1041.

¹⁰ Polybius (11.1a.4): ἐγὼ δὲ κρίνω χρήσιμον μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ τῶν προγραφῶν γένος· καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἄγει τοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν θέλοντας καὶ συνεκκαλεῖται καὶ παρορμᾷ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶν τὸ ζητούμενον ἐτοίμως ἔνεστιν εὑρεῖν διὰ τούτου.

the *syllogé* (συλλογή)”, and discussed in detail the example of the *Sacra Parallela*, the compilation of which preceded the so-called age of encyclopedism by a century or more. Towards the end of his treatment, Odorico observes that the later Damascene florilegia deriving from the *Sacra Parallela* were compiled in a period that coincided with the height of the Byzantine encyclopedism, but that these later works retained only the alphabetical order of the chapters and the system of references (παραπομπάι). However, Odorico points out that the complex structure conceived by John of Damascus (if he was the original compiler) becomes somehow trivialized in these later works. The use of these compilations appears to be more instrumental, more tied to their usefulness for quick consultation, and not the result of a well thought-out and ambitious intellectual effort.¹¹

Odorico’s observations about the inferior arrangements of later Damascene florilegia can be applied in an even higher degree to the sacro-profane florilegia. Richard’s survey of these florilegia has been updated by Odorico himself in an article published in 2004.¹² Since Richard’s time, several new editions have been issued, which makes the current state of research a great improvement over what Richard had to deal with over 40 years ago. Here I will concentrate on one category of sacro-profane florilegia making great use of the *Sacra Parallela*, and primarily the florilegia that are versions of or dependent on the *Loci Communes* of pseudo-Maximus Confessor. The Maximus-related florilegia are numerically by far the largest group and are represented in, for a Byzantine context, a very high number of extant manuscripts.

After centuries of editorial confusion in the Maximus tradition, not one but two critical editions of the *Loci Communes* appeared in 2001 independently of one another, the one by Sibylle Ihm¹³, the other by Stephanos Sar-

¹¹ “Dell’ opera originale essi hanno accettato l’ordinamento alfabetico dei capitoli ed il sistema delle παραπομπάι. Ma la complessa struttura pensata da Giovanni si è in qualche modo banalizzata. L’uso di queste compilazioni pare essere più strumentale, legato a una rapida consultazione, resa comoda dagli indici, non il risultato di un ponderato e gigantesco sforzo ideologico-culturale.” Odorico, BZ (83) 1990 p. 20. One might, however, object that the logical structure of the *Parallela*, just like the logical structure of the *Anthologium* of Stobaeus, was in itself instrumental. The logical arrangement conveyed a vision of things, yes, in accordance with agreed upon anthropological preconceptions, but that does not preclude that the arrangement was also designed to facilitate information retrieval, just like the system of references. It is not so surprising that the later Damascene florilegia display a weakened logical arrangement: any new version of any earlier large-scale anthology would tend to be inferior, simply because it requires a great deal of effort to conceive and execute a plan for a grand anthology of an encyclopedic scope.

¹² P. Odorico, “Gli gnomologi greci sacro-profani. Una presentazione” in Maria Serena Funghi (ed.), *Aspetti di trasmissione della letteratura gnomologica e apoftegmatika*, Pise, 2003 (Florence, 2004), 61-96.

¹³ S. Ihm, *Ps.-Maximus Confessor. Erste kritische Edition einer Redaktion des sacro-profanen Florilegiums Loci communes* [Palingenesia, 73] (Stuttgart, 2001).



gologos.¹⁴ Although Ihm's is the more scholarly and reliable edition, it is a difficult edition to use. If I may be permitted to simplify Ihm's analysis, we are dealing with an original collection she calls Ur-Maximos from which derive Maximos I and Maximos II. From the MaxII branch, a further branch extends, MaxU where the U stands for *Umstellung*, because in this minor branch of the tradition a transposition in the order of chapters occurred. It is this latter tradition that Ihm has edited primarily, though she bravely tries to show in her critical apparatus the readings in the most important manuscripts of MaxI and MaxII. Sargologos, on the other hand, gives us an edition of MaxI very much in the style of his previous edition of another Maximus-related florilegium, what once was called the *Melissa Augustana*.¹⁵

Unlike the *Sacra Parallela*, the *Loci Communes* does not deal with any dogmatic issues such as divine omniscience or baptism or the intervention of angels in human affairs, etc. However, it does deal with a wide range of virtues and vices and other important aspects of human action, such as voluntariness and involuntariness (ch. 55), the law (ch. 58), war and peace (ch. 37). In this sense, one can speak of its encyclopedic scope. However, it is an encyclopedic scope of an inferior sort. First of all, if one compares Ihm's Table of Contents for Maximus to the *Pinax* for the *Sacra Parallela* reprinted in *Patrologia Graeca* vol. 95, one is very much struck by the great differences between them, despite the great dependence of Maximus on the *Sacra Parallela* for many of its excerpts. There is no attempt at an alphabetical arrangement or any additional reference system. Even in the chapter titles themselves, there are almost no exact parallels – only insignificant ones like *Περὶ ἐνυπνίων* ch. 65.

Another striking difference is the absence of explicit Christian references in the titles of the *Loci Communes*: we do not even find a chapter on charity, *agápe*. Apart from ch. 49 *Περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης*, On humility, and a very few like it, almost any of the chapter titles could and often did find a place in pagan anthologies. In fact, the Maximus table of contents owes a lot to the *Anthologium* of Stobaeus, with some exact parallels such as ch. 56, "Know thyself" (= Stob 3.21). The compiler of the *Loci Communes* really does seem to have wanted to show what the sacred and profane traditions had in common.

Despite the parallels with Stobaeus, pseudo-Maximus displays none of the logical progression in the thematic arrangement that we see in Stobaeus. Yes, Maximus does begin with a general chapter on virtue and vice, like Stobaeus Book 3, and then proceeds to the cardinal virtues in order. After that, however, it becomes rather difficult to follow any train of thought. We have "On hope" (ch. 38) stuck in between "On peace and war" and "On

¹⁴ É. Sargologos, *Florilège sacro-profane du Pseudo-Maxime* (Hermoupolis, 2001).

¹⁵ É. Sargologos, *Un traité de vie spirituelle et morale du XI^e siècle: le florilège sacro-profane du manuscrit 6 de Patmos. Introduction, texte critique, notes et tables* (Thessalonica, 1990).

women". We suddenly get an anomalous chapter "On doctors" between "Humility" and "Faith". And so forth.

So the irony is that these later florilegia belonging to the Maximus "family", compiled at the height of "encyclopedism", are inferior in their structure and range, despite the splendid examples of the *Sacra Parallela*, on the Christian side, and the *Anthologium* of Stobaeus, on the pagan side, both of which were important sources for the later florilegia.

My own contribution to research on the pseudo-Maximus tradition was editing a collection usually called the *Corpus Parisinum*.¹⁶ The two chief extant manuscripts reveal a corpus of gnomologia the ancestor of which served as the chief source for the pagan excerpts in the Maximus family of florilegia. Since we may date the compilation of the original Maximus florilegium to the early tenth or late ninth century, we can place the compilation of the first ancestor of the *Corpus Parisinum* at some point probably late in the ninth century.

A few years before Lemerle first wrote about the subject, Alphonse Dain also used the word "encyclopédisme" to characterize the literary activity of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, an activity he regarded as central to the intellectual activity of the tenth century in the same way as that of Photius had been in the ninth century.¹⁷ The great efforts, according to Dain, of the preceding age had been to collect good manuscripts of classical texts and transcribe them in the new manner of writing as means to recuperating the heritage of antiquity. The emperor's encyclopedic projects tended to the same ends, said Dain, but by means of presenting the cultural heritage through digests and collections of excerpts.

Alphonse Dain's description of the difference between the ninth and tenth centuries seems to apply to what we find in the case of Maximus and *Corpus Parisinum* at least to some extent. The *Corpus Parisinum* looks like it was intended as a small library of earlier gnomological collections assembled in a single manuscript in the ninth century. A later compiler came along and exploited this source book for a new compilation on a somewhat grander or, if you like, more encyclopedic scale in the late ninth or early tenth century. This was the forerunner of the later versions of pseudo-Maximus, the Melissa of Antonius, the *Melissa Augustana* and other collections dependent on Maximus. While the Maximus family of florilegia does not display a sophisticated encyclopedic arrangement, it does make the original contribu-

¹⁶ *The Corpus Parisinum*, 2 vols. (Lewiston, NY, 2007). An important study on the *Corpus Parisinum* was published after my edition: Jens Gerlach, *Gnomica Democritea. Studien zur gnomologischen Überlieferung der Ethik Demokrits und zum Corpus Parisinum* [Serta Graeca, 26] (Wiesbaden, 2008).

¹⁷ Alphonse Dain, "L'encyclopédisme de Constantin Porphyrogénète", *Lettres d'humanité* 13 (1953), 64-81.

tion of integrating sacred and profane excerpts in the same thematic anthology.

What exactly is the nature of these profane selections? Some are quotations excerpted from known literary compositions, but the great majority comes in the form of *apophthegmata* and *gnomai*. This stands, of course, in marked contrast to the Christian selections, all of which are quotations. The idea of finding pagan support for Christian morality is certainly not new. Early Church fathers sought constantly to back up Christian positions on moral issues with references to pagan philosophy.

We are dealing here with so-called "spiritual florilegia", though the sacro-profane collections might more aptly be termed "ethical florilegia", but we should not forget the other great category of the Byzantine florilegia that have come down to us: the so-called dogmatic florilegia. One of the earliest extant examples, if not the earliest, is the *Doctrina Patrum de Verbi incarnatione*, which was produced in the seventh or eighth century and makes clear use of pagan testimonia in support of dogmatic positions. This florilegium contains a chapter of philosophical and theological definitions that circulated as an independent collection which in some ways can be regarded as a sacro-profane dogmatic florilegium. In fact, this chapter was recently edited under the title *Collections alphabétiques de définitions profanes et sacrées*.¹⁸ The pagan testimony in this collection, however, remains clearly in the background and the pagan authors are only rarely cited by name. In our sacro-profane collections, on the other hand, the compiler or compilers really do want to make a show of their many selections explicitly attributed to a great variety of both well known and rather obscure authorities from the Greek past. It seems to me that the most obvious impulse for the inclusion of pagan authorities in our sacro-profane florilegia comes from instruction in grammar and rhetoric. A recognizable canon of rhetorical treatises had a wide circulation for many centuries in Byzantium.¹⁹ The *progymnasmata* of this canon all extolled the use of *apophthegmata* and *gnomai*. The extant gnomological collections, from the so-called *Gnomologium Vaticanum* to the *Gnomologium Byzantinum*, were all no doubt important resources for students, teachers and practitioners of rhetoric.

An extreme example of the rhetorical use of pagan *sententiae* which, moreover, gives us utterly clear evidence of the use of pseudo-Maximus in literary composition is the *Life of Saint Cyril the Philotes*.²⁰ As to the appeal of this Life, I tend to side with André-Jean Festugière. At the beginning

¹⁸ Christiane Furrer-Pilliod, *OPOI KAI YΠOΓΡΑΦΟΙ. Collections alphabétiques de définitions profanes et sacrées* [Studi e testi, 395] (Città del Vaticano, 2000).

¹⁹ One might compare the so-called *Corpus Rhetoricum* currently being edited by Michel Patillon for *Les Belles Lettres*.

²⁰ *La Vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin († 1110)*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par Étienne Sargologos [Subsidia hagiographica, 39] (Bruxelles, 1964).

of his series of notes on this work, he confesses that he would never have had the courage to read it, had he not been immobilized by a broken leg for three weeks in bed with nothing else to do.²¹ I spare the reader the details of the Life of a repellent model of sanctity (at least so it may seem to us today); what interests me is the abundant but almost always anonymous use of the pagan selections from pseudo-Maximus.²²

Here are a few examples chosen at random to show how they appear in the text as well as in Maximus:

- (A) *Ch. 1.2* Μέγα γὰρ εἰς λήθην κακὸν ἢ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπόμνησις ἀμαυρουμένη = Max. 45.15/52.15, unaltered from Heliodorus, *Chariclea* 2.29
- (B) *Ch. 3.1* Ἐνιοὶ πόλεων μὲν δεσπόζουσι, γυναῖξί δὲ δουλεύουσιν = Max 3.39/37, attributed to Democritus
- (C) *Ch. 3.1* Οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐλεύθερος, ἑαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν = Max 3.46./43, attributed to Epictetus
- (D) *Ch. 3.3* Ἐγκράτειά ἐστι τὸ κρατεῖν τῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡδονῆς. “Τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὁ ἄνεμος, τὸν δὲ ἔρωτα ἢ συνήθεια ἐκκαίει.” = Max 3.32./29 Σωκράτους. Ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶν ἐγκράτεια εἶπεν· τὸ κρατεῖν τῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡδονῆς and 3.33./30 Τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὁ ἄνεμος, τὸν δὲ ἔρωτα ἢ συνήθεια ἐκκαίει.
- (E) *Ch. 3.6* Ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἀντίβλεψις ὑπόμνησις τοῦ πάσχοντος γίνεται καὶ ἀναφλέγει τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ θεά, καθάπερ ὕλη πυρὶ γιγνομένη. Ὑπέκκαυμα γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας σχῆμα ἢ λόγος ἐρωτικός. = Max 3.58./55, from Heliodorus, *Charikleia* 4.4.4 (Ἡ γὰρ ... γιγνομένη), and 3.59./56, from Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe* 1.5.6 (Ὑπέκκαυμα ...). Both excerpts are placed in Max under the name of *Chariclea*.
- (F) *Ch. 11.2* Καὶ πρὸς τὴν σύζυγον πάλιν ἔλεγεν· Ὅμοιον Θεῷ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν καὶ ἀληθεύειν = Οἱ ἄνθρωποι τότε γίνονται βέλτιοι, ὅταν θεῷ προσέρχονται. Ὅμοιον δὲ ἔχουσιν θεῷ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν καὶ ἀληθεύειν, Max 14.28./27, from Democritus, Epictetus, Isocrates (i.e. *Gnomologium Byzantinum*)
- (G) *Ch. 13.3* Τῆς δὲ κεκαρωμένης οὔσης ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ ἀντιλεγοῦσης, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτήν· Περὶ τοιούτων σοὶ μὲν λέγειν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι πρέπει. Σὺ καὶ ἀκούεις κακὰ ῥαδίως καὶ λέγεις εὐχερῶς·

²¹ André-Jean Festugière, “Notes sur la Vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote”, *Revue des études grecques* 80 (1967), 430-444 (part 1), *ibidem* 81 (1968), 88-109 (part 2).

²² Margaret Mullett has produced a study of the use of its biblical citations: “Reading the bible in the Life of Cyril Phileotes”, in *Literacy, education, and manuscript transmission in Byzantium and beyond*. Ed. J. Waring & C. Holmes (Leiden, 2002), 139-164.

ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἄηθες καὶ ἀκούειν ἀηδές. = Max 31.14./14: Ξενόχαρις ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος περὶ τινων αἰσχυρῶν καὶ μὴ ἀποκρινόμενος ἐκείνου δὲ εἰπόντος· τί σιωπᾷς; ἔφη· περὶ τοιούτων σοὶ μὲν ἐρωτᾶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι πρέπει, and Max 69.17./40.22: Ἀριστοτέλης βλασφημούμενος ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἀσελγοῦς ἔφη· σὺ καὶ ἀκούεις τὰ κακὰ ῥαδίως καὶ λέγεις εὐχερῶς, κτλ.

(H) *Ch. 26.1* Καὶ ἔλεγε· Τὰ βιβλία μὴ τῇ κιβωτῷ ἀλλὰ τῷ στήθει κτῶ. Ἄπερ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐ θαρροῦσι παραινεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται. Τὰ γὰρ βιβλία τῶν μὲν μεμαθηκότων εἰσὶν μνημονεύματα, τῶν δὲ ἀμαθῶν μνήματα = Max 17.62./72 (Οἶνοπίδης ὁρῶν μειράκιον πολλὰ βιβλία κτῶμενον ἔφη. μὴ ... στήθει) and 16.22.*/26 (Δημητρίου Φαληρέως, cf. Plutarch *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* 189D), and 17.63./73 (Ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλεγε τὰ μὲν ... μνήματα).

All but the first come from dialogue in the *Life*. The first is taken from the author’s preface. (A) and (E) are interesting: here we have quotations from ancient novels that now get transferred to a hagiographical setting. Example (G) is from chapter 13, a particularly disagreeable scene. During much of his life, Cyril lives as an ascetic in a cell in his own home, where his long-suffering wife has to do all the work. At this point in the narrative, their little daughter is killed in a terrible accident involving the neighbor’s boy. His wife is understandably distraught, but the holy man does not leave his domestic cell. Instead he shouts out ethical sentences to her from within. Look at the example here from Ch. 13.3: his reproaches to his wife in this situation are completely at odds with what has happened. They are simply apophthegms attributed to Greek philosophers replying to shameful language used by shameless fellows, not the response of a father in order to calm his wife bewailing the sudden death of their young daughter.

Sargologos, the editor of the *Life*, was good about locating sources, but, understandably, he did miss quite a number. Below, I reproduce § 3 of ch. 12 in full, because Sargologos identified here only two of the sayings. In fact all but the last of the sentences in this section come from the profane selections of pseudo-Maximus. This is not an isolated an example but quite typical of the *Life of Cyril* as a whole.

Chapter 12, section 3 in detail

Καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ὁ πλουσίῳ χορηῶν οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ εἰς θάλασσαν ὕδωρ ἐκχέοντος (= Max 8.39/41, after Moschion). Τὸν μὲν δίδοντα χάριν χρὴ παραχρῆμα ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λαβόντα διὰ παντὸς μεμνήσθαι (= 8.53./55, Demosthenes). Ἡ μὲν χάρις πρὸς εὐγνώμονας οὐδέποτε θνήσκει (= 8.41./43, Cato). Μὴ ὀνειδίσης τῷ φίλῳ σου χάριτας· ἔση γὰρ ὡς οὐ δεδοκῶς (= 8.52./54, Sextus). Ἀδαπάνητός ἐστι τῆς εὐποιίας ὁ πλοῦτος· ἐν τῷ δίδοναι γὰρ λαμβάνεται καὶ ἐν τῷ σκορπίζειν συνάγεται (= 8.63./67, “Thespis”, cf. Agapetus, *Cap. admon.* 44). Τὸ δὲ δίδοναι οἷς μὴ δεῖ ὅμοιον ἐστι τῷ μὴ δίδοναι οἷς δεῖ (= 8.45.*/47, ὁ αὐτὸς εἶπε τῆς ἀμαρτίας εἶναι τὸ δίδοναι κτλ,

following a saying of Alexander). Τὸ μὲν θαυμάζειν τοὺς τῶν ἀγίων βίους καλόν· τὸ δὲ ζηλοῦν σωτηρίας πρόξενον. Τὸ δὲ ὑφ' ἑν τὴν ἐκείνων μιμεῖσθαι θέλειν πολιτείαν ἄλογον καὶ ἀμήχανον (Climax, *Grad.* 4, PG 88, 704C).

A few explicit citations of pagan authorities also appear unexpectedly in usage equally bizarre as the anonymous citations. These explicit mentions of pagan philosophers are as follows:

Ch. 35.3 Ὁ δὲ φησι· Κύριέ μου – τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἔθος αὐτῷ πρὸς πάντας λέγειν – Πλάτων τοὺς φιλαργύρους ὑδρωπιῶσιν εἰκέναι ἔλεγεν· οἱ μὲν πεπλησμένοι ὑδάτων διψῶσιν, οἱ δὲ χρημάτων.

= Max 12.44./43, following Plutarch (= *Corpus Parisinum* 3.88, among sayings of Plutarch): Τοὺς πλουσίους δὲ καὶ ἀπλήστους ὑδρωπιῶσιν εἰκέναι ἔλεγεν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ πεπλησμένοι ὑδάτων, οἱ δὲ χρημάτων.

Ch. 52.1 Μοναχὸς δέ τις νεώτερος ... ὃν καὶ συνεχῶς ἐδίδασκεν ὁ ὅσιος καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ· Μειρακίον μέλλον τῷ Ἀντισθένει φοιτᾶν ἐπύθετο τίνων μάλιστα χρεῖαν ἔχει. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Βιβλιδαρίου καὶ νοῦ καὶ πινακιδίου καὶ νοῦ καὶ γραφείου καὶ νοῦ, ἐμφαίνων ὅτι δεῖ εἰς πάντα μάλιστα νοῦ.

= apophthegm of Isocrates cited by Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata*, p. 100, ed. Spengel (cf. Diogenes the Cynic in Diogenes Laertius 6.3)

Ch. 52.1 Καλῶς οὖν ὁ Διογένης τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνίους ἔφη, τὰ δέοντα λέγοντας, ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς λύρας καλὸν φθεγγομένας οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι.

= Max 63.17./18

Ch. 52.5 Ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης θεασάμενος νεανίσκον κατωφρυώμενον μηδὲν δὲ ἐπιστάμενον· Νεανίσκε, ἔφη, οἷος μὲν δοκεῖς σεαυτὸν εἶναι, ἐγὼ γενοίμην· οἷος δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπάρχεις τοιοῦτοί μου οἱ ἐχθροὶ γένοιντο.

= Max 34.35./30

Ch. 53.9 Ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τινος αὐτόν· Τί νομίζεις τὸ γῆρας; ἀπεκρίνατο· Τοῦ ζῆν χειμῶνα. Σόλων γὰρ τὸ γῆρας ἔλεγεν ὄρμον εἶναι κακῶν· εἰς αὐτὸ γὰρ πάντα καταφεύγει.

= Max 70.29/33, Διογένης ἐρωτώμενος τί νομίζεις τὸ γῆρας εἶναι; ἀπεκρίνατο τοῦ ζῆν χειμῶνα.

+ Max 70. 26./30, Σόλωνος. Τὸ γῆρας ἔλεγεν ὄρμον εἶναι κακῶν· εἰς αὐτὸ γοῦν πάντα καταφεύγει.

The *sententiae* and *apophthegmata* occur almost always in dialogue situations. It would be very interesting to explore the dialogues in other hagiographical or historical narratives in search of clear but perhaps less obvious use of the florilegia known to us. As to the picture that emerges of Saint Cyril through the use of pagan apophthegms, one cannot help but be reminded of the Cynic tradition. Diogenes and other Cynics used their trademark sayings as a means to challenge what Mr. Doolittle in Shaw's *Pygmalion* would call "middle-class morality". Although the inclusion of non-Christian apophthegms and maxims in the *Life of Saint Cyril* is clumsily done, it is part of a longstanding tradition that linked together Cynic unconventionality and radical Christian ascetism.²³

Festugière describes chapter 24 of the *Life* as an anthology, because the narrative there has dwindled to the barest minimum and one excerpt after another is given, often with explicit mention of the author cited. Actually much of the *Life of Cyril* can be characterized as being like an anthology or florilegium. Indeed, at what point can we distinguish an anthology or florilegium from a work – whether a literary narrative or a dogmatic or ethical treatise – that is basically a compilation of *sententiae* and quotations only slightly altered to fit a new framework?

A florilegium pure and simple, I think, should be defined as a compilation of excerpts from other works in which the compiling author's role is reduced to selection and arrangement. It may contain a preface stating its structure and purpose. This is what I call a pure florilegium. The note of originality is limited to a bare minimum. Its greatest use is probably as a source book, a storehouse of thoughts and formulations, though it can also be read through on its own for both entertainment and edification. The compiler wants to excerpt with a minimum of alteration. The more you move away from that, the more originality introduced in the form of authorial intervention, the less you can speak of a work as a florilegium.

With respect to "encyclopedism", the immediate association modern people have when they hear the word "encyclopedia" is to a great collection of articles on a full range of topics, normally in alphabetic order. People familiar with antiquity are likely, though, to associate the term "encyclopedia" to the *enkyklios paideia* or the seven liberal arts. Excerpting and anthologizing were fundamental aspects of both ancient and medieval literary education. In this sense, the sacro-profane florilegia may most certainly be regarded as encyclopedic, preserving as they do the clear influence of basic instruction in rhetoric.

²³ On sayings of Cynics in the earlier Christian tradition, see D. Krueger, "Diogenes the Cynic among the Fourth Century Fathers", *Vigiliae Christianae* 47 (1993), 29-49; for Cynics in the hagiographic tradition, see D. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool. Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1996).

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Nikodemos, a Holy Fool in Late Byzantine Thessalonike

Alice-Mary Talbot

It is my pleasure to offer in homage to Jan Olof Rosenqvist, one of the master hagiographers of our generation, the translation of a brief Palaiologan *vita* as a gesture of respect, admiration and appreciation. It seems particularly appropriate to select a work by the mid-14th c. author Philotheos Kokkinos, the subject of my talk in Uppsala some years ago when Jan Olof kindly invited me to give the annual Lennart Rydén memorial lecture.¹

Philotheos, a native of Thessalonike, had a distinguished ecclesiastical career as monk and churchman, culminating in two periods as patriarch of Constantinople (1353-1354/5, 1364-1376). He also managed to write prolifically, and is best known for his lives of contemporary saints, most of them associated in some way with Thessalonike. His *vitae* tend to be quite lengthy, and contain copious details on the childhood of his heroes, as well as insights into daily life and interest in human psychology. Perhaps on account of their prolixity, these *vitae* have not received the attention they deserve and to date only one has been translated into a western European language.² I therefore decided to translate the *Life of St. Nikodemos* (unusual for its brevity) as a sample of the potential interest of this hagiographical corpus.³

¹ Alice-Mary Talbot, “Children, healing miracles, holy fools: Highlights from the hagiographical works of Philotheos Kokkinos (1300-ca. 1379)”, *Bysantinska Sällskapet. Bulletin* 24 (2006), 48-64.

² A translation of the Life of Gregory Palamas, in Gregorio Palama, *Atto e luce divina. Scritti filosofici e teologici*. Introduzione, traduzione, note e apparati di Ettore Perrella et alii (Milan, 2003), 1353-1513.

³ The translation is based on the edition prepared by Demetrios Tsames (ed.), Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα, Α, Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι (Thessalonike, 1985), 83-93. I should like to hereby acknowledge with gratitude the valuable suggestions made by Stamatina McGrath with regard to the interpretation of certain difficult sentences in the text.

The *vita* is no doubt so short because so little is known about Nikodemos. Philotheos became interested in this saint when he was superior of the monastery of Philokales in Thessalonike in the early 1340s, and inquired into the history of the holy man to whom one of the monastic chapels was dedicated. As he learned, Nikodemos had come to Thessalonike at the beginning of the 14th c., toward the end of his life, after years as a wandering hesychast. He joined the Philokales monastery, but spent much time outside the cloister, playing the holy fool by consorting with prostitutes.⁴ His behavior aroused so much indignation that he was killed in 1307 by some local citizens, and subsequently denied burial at his monastery. Some years later a fragrant odor led to the discovery of his uncorrupted relics, and proper burial in a tomb in his original resting place outside the monastery. After several miraculous healings, the monks of Philokales built a chapel in the same location, with the support of a donation from emperor Andronikos II. His cult spread rapidly, and by 1321 an image of Nikodemos was included in the *katholikon* of the Hilandar monastery on Mt. Athos.⁵

THE LIFE OF SAINT NIKODEMOS OF THESSALONIKE

1. Who could pass over the story of the truly great ascetic Nikodemos, and not relate his accomplishments to God-loving ears to the best of his ability? For such an omission would certainly cause immense harm to lovers of the good. Therefore, completely casting aside my fear and hesitation, I will briefly mention a few of his deeds for those who knew him. No one should dismiss my work offhand, judging it not worthy of the effort, since my purpose is a spiritual one, training and encouraging lovers of virtue to emulate him. Therefore I should invoke God and His initiate, on behalf of whom and for whom is the present account, so that the endeavor at hand may turn out in accordance with our prayers; for this <Nikodemos>, a most precious and true offshoot, confirmed Christ's calling⁶ in his deeds and his death. For what he was going to be was called forth in advance.

2. His birthplace was the Thessalian city of Berroia, which is blessed in its natural location and position and many other advantages, but is adorned by none of these as much as by its very own fruit, I mean the wondrous Nikodemos. He came not from an undistinguished family, but from one of the most important in these parts. He reached maturity during the reign of the most pious and celebrated Andronikos, ruler of the Romans, who could

⁴ On Nikodemos as a holy fool, see Sergey A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* (Oxford, 2006), 223-224, 227.

⁵ Sharon Gerstel, "Civic and Monastic Influences on Church Decoration in Late Byzantine Thessalonike", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), 235.

⁶ Cf. 2 Pet. 1:10.

boast of his Palaiologan lineage.⁷ Being of good character, Nikodemos embarked upon the solitary life, and leaving behind his native city [p. 84], like a second Abraham or Moses, the friend of God, he chose the life of an expatriate, being oppressed, *afflicted, ill-treated, wandering in desert places and mountains*,⁸ constantly mortifying his flesh with fasting and vigils, and suppressing as best he could the passions generated by his flesh. He seemed to strive as much as possible to do this in secret, so that he might thereby attain greater glory from God, as one who cleverly and skillfully deceived the ruler of darkness. For the celebrated Nikodemos used to train on a daily basis in the law of the Lord, to Whom he was devoted, by Whom he was *taught to raise his fingers mystically to war*, and his *hands* precisely and noetically *for battle*⁹ against the enemy. And indeed this wondrous father was well girded with strength by God. Therefore he constantly delighted in God's beauty, and through its support deemed himself worthy to enter the greater and more divine wrestling pits of virtue. Therefore after devoting himself entirely to noetic and divine activities, he revealed himself to be a tool and spiritual stringed instrument<of the Lord>. Therefore he wisely surrounded and girded himself with the cardinal virtues, like stars in the firmament of his soul, from which and through which <virtues> the sun of righteousness shines brightly on the path to heaven, smoothing it down in a precise manner.

3. Therefore he came into possession of the divine mysteries; he approached quite marvelously the mountain of impassivity, and mystically saw God through the perception of his soul. For he strove to make himself no less a lover or excellent devotee of Christ's love, indifferent to his personal situation but excessively concerned regarding divine matters, as the following will now make clear. For who mightily overcame the generative and productive passions, as he did, but subjecting them to reason he subdued or deadened them, to speak in a more familiar manner? Who was able to control his appetite and sexual desires, as he did, using Our Lady also as his aide? For he did not address Her as much as he wanted, but rather as much as he saw necessary to control the bonds of nature. But who could properly describe the intensity of his fasting, or his persistence in vigils, and the abundance of tears from his eyes, or his intelligence and humility, in addition to his quick comprehension which was easily able to reach as far as God? You should be persuaded of this by his secret and continual recourse during his all-night vigils to suspension ropes¹⁰, which he used constantly, his boundless conversation with God, and his continuous meditation on and contemplation of the divine. As others loved and were adorned with pleasures, so he always loved

⁷ Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328).

⁸ Heb. 11:37-38.

⁹ Cf. Ps. 143(144):1.

¹⁰ These were ropes used to provide some support to ascetics during long vigils.

and was adorned by difficult labors. In short, who harmonized his soul and body as he did, and lived in such a healthy condition?¹¹ He preserved intact and unblemished <the admonition to live> *in the image and likeness*¹² <of God>, always associating with these <rules> and, as aforementioned, delighting in God's beauty, and gleaming all over with the divine brilliance therefrom. For he always believed that all earthly things are mere rubbish and simply mockery and dreams or the roaring of the sea, simply considering life and breath to be virtue as much as possible. [p. 86]

4. Towards the end of his life he came to the blessed city of Thessalonike, after previously spending time in many places. Upon his arrival, that fine worker of virtue decided he should join a monastery for the sake of <espousing the rule of> obedience, so that as a result he might enjoy more perfect rewards. Therefore he delivered himself to a monastery called Philokales, where he lived and accomplished every sort of virtue, doing this surreptitiously, as I have already mentioned, lest the devil might trip him up unobserved by means of his contrary and unstable dealings.¹³ He offered such submission and obedience to the superior of the monastery and to all the brethren as well, that they were astonished at this alone. Since he seemed to live in a heedless manner in other respects, always engaged in conversations with prostitutes and pretending to participate in boisterous revelry, as a result he was criticized by everyone. And on occasion the superior even threw him out of the monastery on this account. But that man of adamant will bore all this steadfastly, with the good thought that *the sufferings of the present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to come*,¹⁴ and that if we suffer on account of Christ, surely we will *also be glorified together*¹⁵ with Him. For he had an instructor in all this, *the spirit of truth*.¹⁶ Therefore to the extent that [p. 87] *he was corrupted in his outer nature*, to such an extent *his inner nature was being totally renewed*,¹⁷ and as it was renewed it was beautified; and as it was beautified, Christ, *the king of glory*, loved this *beauty*, wherefore he chose *to make his abode with Him*.¹⁸ When this happened, Nikodemos did not live in himself, but rather the One Who dwelled in him lived in him;¹⁹ so be it. For when a soul is once and for all unified mystically with God, and so to speak is co-mingled with Him in relative fashion, it

¹¹ It is tempting here to follow the suggestion of Stamatina McGrath and emend ὑγίασε to ἡγίασε, "sanctified them", i.e., his soul and body.

¹² Gen. 1:26.

¹³ Here I suggest emending παλιμβόνου of the Greek edition, attested only in this one instance in TLG, to παλιμβούλου.

¹⁴ Rom. 8:18.

¹⁵ Rom. 8:17.

¹⁶ John 14:17.

¹⁷ 2 Cor. 4:16.

¹⁸ Cf. Ps. 44(45):11 and John 14:23.

¹⁹ Cf. Gal. 2:20.

takes pleasure forever in His beauty. Wherefore *neither things present nor things to come, nor anything else at all in creation will be able to* distract this soul *from the love*²⁰ of its Beloved, but whether in conversations, or in discussions, or in sleep, it always conjures up His image and sees Him attached to it in relative fashion. But let my account once more resume the narrative in sequence.

5. Once this divine Nikodemos was sent by the superior to one of the monastery's estates, in order to check on the fields there, and during his visit there he zealously carried out his assignment, while abstaining from food. For he spent almost the whole week without eating, being nourished by his life-giving prayer alone, which the noetic bread and Son of God calls heavenly bread.²¹ And whatever food he received from the monastery, he used to either give to the poor people he encountered (O, how remarkable was his love for Christ!) or hand over to prostitutes, giving it to them as payment, to keep them from defiling their beds by <intercourse with> him. As he did this in ardent manner, the triumphant one always seemed to strive to be seen as an imitator of the divine Vitalios,²² of whose lifestyle and character he was extremely fond; like a *thirsty deer*,²³ or better like Joseph,²⁴ he desired the sober and steadfast <way of life>, this man who was in truth also sober and steadfast, [p. 88] even if by wise contrivance he wished to escape the attention of his *left hand*,²⁵ and chose to be considered and called *anathema* by everyone for the sake of his fellow men, in the words of the holy apostle.²⁶ But he was also a distributor of grain, like Joseph,²⁷ not for Egypt but for wicked women enslaved in darkness and sin (O, woe), not so that those women might basely engage again in their previous deeds, but so that he might thereby save them. And if one wished to compare to him the murder of Abel, the hospitality of Abraham or his love of the divine, the hardship of Moses on behalf of his countrymen, the campaign of Joshua against his enemies, the ardor of Elijah in his time of troubles, in my view he would not err from the truth. For one (Elijah) was steadfast in troubles and unyielding in tribulation, another (Abraham) hospitable or a lover of the divine, yet another prudent and wise in his actions; the blood of one (Abel) was shed,

²⁰ Cf. Rom. 8:38-39.

²¹ Cf. John 6:31-35.

²² In the Life of St. John the Merciful, patriarch of Alexandria, is found the tale of the monk Vitalios, who provided food for prostitutes, and often spent the night in their rooms, praying for their salvation, incurring contempt and scorn from those who assumed he was having intercourse with these women. See André-Jean Festugière, ed., *Léontios de Néapolis. Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Paris, 1974), 387-391.

²³ Cf. Ps. 41 (42):1-2.

²⁴ An allusion to the story of Joseph's temptation by Potiphar's wife; see Genesis 39:7 ff.

²⁵ Cf. Matt. 6:3-4, about the virtue of almsgiving in secret.

²⁶ Cf. Rom. 9:3.

²⁷ Cf. Gen. 43.

another was humble and loved his brother, another (Joshua) known for his strategy and noble victory. And through study one imitated or gathered most, the other all the flowers of the virtues, which he deposited in the hives of his heart, which multiplied thirty and sixty and one hundred fold.²⁸

6. But this <saintly conduct> was intolerable for Satan who had malicious designs against Nikodemos from the beginning, for the common enemy of our kind bore a severe grudge against him, and ground his teeth against him in insane fashion, in his anger that such a transitory and humble nature desired to attain the celestial kingdom, from which he himself (Satan) had fallen headlong on account of his wicked disposition. Therefore he armed his defenders against the holy man with all his might. For when the slaves of the devil saw the holy man conversing with prostitutes and sometimes even consorting with them, and thought that he was acting in fashion similar to themselves (for how could an unholy soul consider and imagine actions of higher nature than its own?), [p. 89] they gnashed their teeth against him and grumbled to God, how this man could have erotic relations with their girlfriends. One day when they found him reclining in the midst of the prostitutes, they butchered him, alas, with their knives (O, what stupidity!).²⁹ The victorious Nikodemos, still breathing feebly, asked to be brought to his own monastery; upon his arrival, however, he was forbidden entrance by the superior, but was permitted to receive the undefiled sacrament outside its gate. Then that man of adamantine will reproached himself greatly in an excess of humility, proclaiming that he was not only unworthy to enter the monastery, but also unworthy of life here on earth and of the life to come, since he had always been prone to the basest passions. He then delivered up his spirit to God. He was at that time about forty years old, or a little older.

7. They then dishonorably removed his totally honorable body from the gate, since the celebrated Nikodemos had given these instructions while he was still alive, in order to attain greater rewards, and they buried him somewhere very close to the monastery. But his murderers soon paid the penalty for their crime. For somewhere outside of but close to Thessalonike they fell among Latins,³⁰ who, as was appropriate, cut off their murderous hands, a just action, even if they did not obtain a punishment worthy of their brazen deed. A few years later, several inhabitants of the city visited the place where the holy man's body was concealed, on some business (surely, this was God's purpose). When they perceived a fragrant odor emanating from the burial place, they were amazed, as was to be expected, but they could not figure out the mystery. And as a number of other people passed along this street, they all perceived this same fragrant odor. This persuaded some of

²⁸ Cf. Matt. 13:8.

²⁹ Nikodemos seems to have died in 1307.

³⁰ A reference to the Grand Catalan Company, which raided the outskirts of Thessalonike in the spring of 1308.

them to examine the source of the fragrance. After immediately digging a trench, they discovered in it (O, what a miracle!) the divine and [p. 90] all-honorable body of the thrice-blessed one, intact, whole, complete, having suffered no corruption whatsoever. For *the Lord truly keeps the bones* of His saints, and *not one of them will be broken*.³¹ The whole city of Thessalonike, as well as the most kindly emperor himself (for he happened to be residing in the city at that time), thought that the discovery of the holy body of the divine Nikodemos was a stroke of good fortune and a source of unceasing joy for them. And they took no greater pleasure in the nature and location and good order of the city or in the strength of its walls than in this <holy man>. For each one believed the magnificence and godliness of the relics to be his own glory. Wherefore they honorably removed that divine coffin from that place, and the archbishop and all the citizenry gave his body a proper burial with perfumed oils and linen winding cloths, and they laid it to rest again in the same place, where it soon began to perform miracles for those who approached it with faith; for God knows how to glorify those who glorify Him. And after we recall two or three of these miracles, we will leave the rest to lovers of learning. They are as follows.

8. A certain Serbian named George, whose surname was Karabides,³² and came from Dalmatia, once came over to the Romans as a deserter, and took up residence in Thessalonike. He was afflicted by a terrible paralysis, which nature and medical skill alike despaired of curing, discouraged, in my opinion, by its severity. After much suffering and after spending almost all his resources on doctors, he derived no benefit therefrom except to form a distinctly unfavorable opinion of them. At long last coming to his senses, he decided to seek refuge at the shrine of this holy man. So he went there immediately and made many supplications to the saint, and shed tears as well, that most efficacious drug of persuasion, over the holy coffin of the saint. After being immediately delivered from his affliction, he returned to his own home, in good health and rejoicing. So much for this story.

9. My narrative now brings me to another <miracle> in the same sequence [p. 91] as the previous one. Another man, whose family came from Adrianople, usually journeyed to the city of Thessalonike along with the emperor. During his stay he happened once to visit the saint's shrine, and after entering it he venerated the images of the saints there.³³ He carefully investigated the life of the great man, about which he was quickly informed by those present there, namely that Nikodemos was fervently concerned with almsgiving, and that he always used to pretend to consort with prostitutes in

³¹ Ps. 33 (34):20.

³² *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna, 1976-1994), no. 11086.

³³ This passage implies that the first stage in the construction of a shrine to St. Nikodemos was a simple chapel decorated with fresco paintings.

disreputable manner, and that he was constantly exhorting them to pursue salvation. He also made it his concern to provide for their bodily needs, sometimes giving them some of his own daily <monastic> food allotment, sometimes <providing them with food> he received from his assigned work duties. When the man heard this, he did not marvel exceedingly at this as he should have, but considered the story vulgar and base. As soon as he touched his lips to the all-venerable coffin of the thrice-blessed one (O, miracle!), straightaway the coffin rose up majestically from the burial chamber like a living being inspired by a higher power, and hung down from his foolish lips, even though this man had not yet expressed his own thoughts. And it rubbed away and terribly pressed upon or, better, chastised his lips, so as to add a weight to them. As was to be expected, this phenomenon greatly terrified both the afflicted man and the onlookers, but by supplicating the holy Nikodemos with lamentations, they saved that wretched man from his just chastisement. From that time on, he visited the saint constantly, and offered up prayers to him with trembling; and blaming himself exceedingly for his previous negligence, he became a loud herald and true expounder of the miracle.

10. How can we bury in silence the miraculous case of the woman who secretly stole the saint's tooth, and not describe it to those unfamiliar with the story? Since this woman was afflicted by illness for many years, she decided to seek refuge with the saint, truly her only consolation. After quickly doing this, she placed his all-honored head on the afflicted part of her body, and fervently entreated him to provide relief from her affliction. The brazen woman did not merely quietly implore the saint and beg for deliverance, but yanked out and removed the saint's tooth from his holy head, [p. 92] as she later related, concealed it in her bosom and left the church; and she immediately departed on the road to her house. But the one who perpetrated this deed was swiftly punished. For the wretched woman was struck with madness, and held fast in its terrible grip, an affliction from which she found no relief until she returned that holy object which she had stolen to its sacred reliquary, and deposited it there with a tearful confession. There are several witnesses of this miracle, who survive to this day. And how could I enumerate those who visited the holy coffin of the all-blessed one on a daily basis, and truly received healing therefrom? But since they are almost infinite in number, I have omitted them on account of their multitude, avoiding excessive length, as is proper. For only if one can enumerate the stars in heaven or the sands of the sea, can he enumerate the miracles of this holy man. But so much for this story.

11. We must now return to our starting point. For the monks of Philokales, at the urging of the emperor and thanks to an imperial donation, built a church there in the name of the saint, at the place where his body was discovered, after first greatly blaming themselves for their error. And they prepared to hymn therein God Who adorns His true servants with such

graces, and to glorify His servant, the truly great Nikodemos. So I, out of my love for him, abandoning my own folly, have composed the present narrative, different parts from different sources, and assembled them like mosaic pieces into the form and shape of a single unit, so to speak, since I have found no prior information on the saint.

12. O comrade of the fathers, companion of the blessed who is numbered among the saints, witness and heir of the heavenly Jerusalem, may you look mercifully upon my bold initiative. For even if this narrative fails to match your worth, still, as you know, it does not lack in enthusiasm. Through your entreaties to God may you cherish and protect from invisible and visible enemies this flock, among which you carried out rigorously your labors on behalf of virtue; and may you also direct and guide to a better and more divine course of action myself, who by God's permission served as superior of this monastery (even if I am asking a large favor), so that thereby [p. 93], having led *a quiet and tranquil life*,³⁴ I may offer both them and myself as unblemished and, so to speak, untouched sacrifices to the all-holy Trinity, the source of life, to Which is due glory, majesty and magnificence, unto the eternal ages of the ages, Amen.

³⁴ 1 Tim. 2:2.

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New Philology and the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete

Staffan Wahlgren

New Philology can be said to be a set of attitudes and techniques representing an extension of traditional textual criticism.¹ Its practitioner sees a need for using MSS for multiple purposes, not only treating them as steps on a ladder taking us up, or back, to a text's original shape. The practitioner of less moderate forms of New Philology may be sceptical as to the very principles of reconstruction and tends to consider traditional criticism as a quest for the imaginary.

The kind of neo-philological thinking which can be accepted by most scholars implies an acknowledgement of the fact that the difficulties of meaningful reconstruction as well as those of proving stemmatic relationships have sometimes been underrated. It also implies an increased interest in not only a producer's but a consumer's perspective on texts, and in what happened to texts, and how they were read and used, in times long after their production. Neo-philological thinking has had its impact on several mediaeval philologies, and in particular on those dealing with vernacular literatures, such as Old Norse and Romance philology. As a matter of fact, New Philology has its roots in Romance studies, and Mediaeval Latin studies only followed suit.²

Byzantine scholars have been even more hesitant than their Mediaeval Latin colleagues to adopt New Philology, although a change is now discernible. Many editions of recent years discuss the need to respect Byzantine conventions of spelling – to mention one, in itself perhaps rather trivial, fea-

¹ Inspiration for this article comes from different sources. I would like to acknowledge a debt to Marek Th. Kretschmer, and in particular to his *Rewriting Roman History in the Middle Ages: the 'Historia Romana' and the Manuscript Bamberg, Hist. 3* [Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 36] (Leiden, 2007).

² For anyone interested in the background, essential reading is provided by *Speculum* 65:1 (1990).

ture. More importantly, an attitude towards correction and standardization reminiscent of the infamous Procrustes is growing rare among editors.³ All this shows that a change on the ideological level is taking place, a change which means the acknowledgement both of Byzantine culture as independent of antiquity and also of the fact that the Byzantines may have had rules of their own.

The purpose of this short paper is to take a brief look at the MSS of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete (our starting-point will be the *Urtext*, finished in the 950s or 960s and covering the time from the Creation of the World until the year 948 A.D.) while pursuing two lines of thought inspired by New Philology.⁴ One reason for choosing this text is the fact that it belongs to a genre which is not stable, and also the fact that a comparatively great amount of changes are manifested in its MSS over the centuries: it is our task to explain why. In addition, this chronicle has a rich and relatively well researched tradition.

The first thought to be borrowed from New Philology, is that changes to a text, manifested in later MSS, may tell us something about an age later than the author and about conscious ambitions of someone in a later age. We should therefore, if possible, distinguish between intentional change and unintentional change, i.e. errors. To what extent can we trace intentional change in the Logothete tradition and what does this tell us? Is it possible to detect an editorial voice and reflections on the text and, if so, can this be pinned down to a specific period?

In answer to this it could be said that there is a considerable group of MSS which, on the whole, can only be meant to be true apographs of earlier MSS. They betray very few instances of intentional alteration of the text, and it is not possible to talk about a new design or an attempt at using the text for another purpose than the original one. However, we could here make a distinction between copyists who go into a dialogue with the text and those who do not. My impression is that most MSS show signs of an active reader. This is hinted at by individual notes in the margin, exclamations, and shortened or expanded versions of specific sentences (often betraying that the original sense has been misunderstood).

In order to illustrate all this we will turn to the MS Constantinopolitanus Seragliensis 37, from the early 14th c.⁵ This MS looks like a fairly good, true copy. However, a typical characteristic of it are temperamental exclamations as a reaction to the text (φοβερόν! σφάλμα! etc.). Although there is no guar-

³ Editions of some Byzantine romances spring to mind: it could be argued that the kind of classicising editorial attitude demonstrated by these was possible 10-15 years ago but would hardly be so today.

⁴ Staffan Wahlgren (ed.), *Symeonis magistri et logothetae chronicon* [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, 44:1] (Berlin & New York, 2006).

⁵ Wahlgren, 30*f. and 54*ff.

antee that these exclamations have not been taken over from an exemplar, i.e. an older MS, I do think that they belong together and were introduced into the tradition by one individual – an individual who carefully read the text and felt strongly while doing so. It would be interesting to know whether these notes have parallels in other MSS and were, in fact, typical of a specific age.

For further examples of minor changes to the text we will now turn to two MSS reconstructed in my stemma – lost to us but without any doubt once in existence.⁶ A typical feature of both of these is a tendency to supply antiquarian notes to the text: on persons, on places etc. Although this is a common tendency to both, the technique applied by the one is quite distinct from that of the other. The first of these MSS (χ) supplies short expansions of sentences: if the island closest to the Capital is mentioned, the MS volunteers the information that this is the island of *Plate*; if Krum is mentioned, we are told that he was the leader of the Bulgarians, etc. The technique of the second (ϕ) of the MSS is more elaborate and systematic: for emperors and patriarchs it supplies short descriptions pertaining to their physical appearance as well as to their ultimate fate and burial.

Unfortunately, in these two cases we are dealing with MSS which we no longer possess, and therefore it is even more unclear than it might otherwise have been to which age the introduction of their characteristic features belongs. I think it likely, though, that it is not an age very close to Symeon the Logothete himself, but probably one more inclined towards antiquarianism and an interest in individuals, such as the 12th c.⁷

Beside those discussed so far there are several MSS that represent the *Urtext* more freely and have been classified as contaminated MSS or as containing versions of the text. As far as these are concerned a lot of work has still to be done before we can say much about the plan behind them. An example of a MS of this kind is the Laurentianus Plutei 70.11, of the 11th c.⁸ It contains a mixture of the Logothete and the Chronicle of Georgios Monachos, and it also seems to be related to the so-called B-version of the Logothete. However, here as elsewhere much research will be necessary before we arrive at a true understanding of the procedure and agenda of its redactor or redactors.

On some other chronicles, more remotely related to the *Urtext* of the Logothete, work has been done in recent years by A. Markopoulos (Pseudo-Symeon), J. Featherstone (Theophanes continuatus) and others. The same seems to hold true with regard to these chronicles as to the contaminated MSS and the versions of the *Urtext*: a great deal of activity, leading to fairly

⁶ See for this section Wahlgren, 57*ff.

⁷ It should also be kept in mind that similar descriptions of emperors are known from elsewhere: in literature from Michael Psellus onwards, in Byzantine art etc.

⁸ Wahlgren, 115*.

radical transformation, can be detected very early, i.e. only a short time after the date of Symeon himself. In contrast, later ages are primarily interested in minor modifications which, although very telling ideologically and interesting from the point of view of the history of mentality, do not upset the structure of the text.

The second thought, which we will borrow from New Philology, is that we should take an interest in MSS as entities rather than just extracting from them the text relevant for our critical edition. Therefore we should ask: what do the MSS of the Logothete contain more than the chronicle itself? And, when it comes to MSS which contain more texts than the Logothete, is it possible to say anything about the existence of an overall design by a redactor or compiler of a MS? And, further, do texts influence each other by the very fact that they are neighbours in MSS?

Although many MSS of the Logothete just contain one text, there are some exceptions. The earliest example of a multiple text MS containing the Logothete is the Parisinus gr. 1711, a MS dated to the year 1013, which contains the following: patriarch Nicephorus' *Historia Syntomos*, the Chronicle of George Syncellus, the Chronicle of Theophanes, the so-called *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*, parts of the Chronicle of the Logothete, some anonymous verses, and pseudo-Callisthenes' *Historia Alexandri Magni*.⁹ To mention just one more MS containing several texts: the *Vindobonensis hist. gr. 37*, of the 14th c., transmits one and the same part of the Chronicle of the Logothete twice, from two different exemplars, even copied into the MS by the same scribe.¹⁰

Many questions concerning these MSS as entities should be discussed thoroughly at some time. In the case of the Parisinus gr. 1711 the texts of George Syncellus, Theophanes and the Logothete seem to form a greater whole, since only that part of the Logothete is included which is needed to continue the story after the end of Theophanes, i.e. the part covering the years 813-948. However, the overall arrangement of the MS, including the order of the different texts, is puzzling. In the case of the *Vindobonensis hist. gr. 37* we can only wonder why the same text occurs twice. Is it really possible that the scribe never realised what he was doing? This looks quite the opposite of an overall design.

At last, a very particular kind of multiple text MS should be mentioned. There are six different continuations to the *Urtext* of the Logothete, preserved in different MSS.¹¹ These continuations take the story down to a date later than the original ending in 948. Already the editor has good reason to consider several questions concerning the relationship between the form of

⁹ Wahlgren, 38*.

¹⁰ Wahlgren, 40*f.

¹¹ Of these five are in Greek and one in Old Slavonic. There is further an elaborated version which takes the story down to the year 962. See Wahlgren, 117*.

the *Urtext* and that of the continuation.¹² A matter of direct interest to the editor is that of textual traits common to the *Urtext* and the continuation, since the very fact of the existence of common traits can serve as proof of interference with the *Urtext* by a later hand, i.e. that of the author of the continuation. We should remind ourselves of the agenda, set by New Philology, to investigate MSS as entities and we should also move on to questions about how literary genres are created.

There can be no doubt that continuations of the kind here dealt with form a very special genre of Byzantine literature: we could call them *ad hoc continuations*. Presumably mostly written in late Byzantium, they are very different from other examples of historical writing from the same period, or from texts written in earlier times as extensions to existing works (such as Theophanes' chronicle, which was written as an extension to Georgius Syncellus' chronicle). They are less independent, and they take over a strict framework, laid out in a distant past. They merit attention but tend to go unnoticed, since they often have not been edited as yet. They illustrate the need for much more Byzantine philological research.

After these words nothing remains but to do what Symeon the Logothete would probably refrain from, i.e. make reference to a contemporary. So all that remains is to congratulate the recipient of this book. At least, we can do so in a language appropriate to the chronicler, wishing: (εἰς) πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη!

¹² I am preparing a critical edition of these continuations for the CFHB series.

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A Rose-Bearing Bough of Piety: Literary Perspectives on the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*

David Westberg

In this chapter I should like to return to a piece of hagiography with which the honouree of this volume has been deeply engaged, namely the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* (*VTh*). In his doctoral dissertation Jan Olof Rosenqvist systematically examined the syntax of the text and made a number of remarks concerning individual passages in order to improve the *Textgestalt* and understanding of the text as found in the edition of Festugière.¹ My purpose in this article is to uncover some of the literary strategies in *VTh* and to explore some of the motifs it presents and their significance, especially the way in which the symbolic distinction between wilderness and civilization operates in the *Life*.

Theodore was born in the village of Sykeon, Galatia, during the reign of Justinian I (527–565), where he also died in 613.² His life was recorded by his disciple, Georgios of Sykeon, who himself later became hegoumenos of Theodore's monastery according to the title of *VTh* in Cod. Marc. gr. 359 ('written by Georgios, priest and hegoumenos of the same monastery'). The text seems to have been completed after, but probably not long after, 641 only a few decades after Theodore's death.³ From the information given in § 22 it seems as if the information concerning Theodore's childhood in the introductory part of the *Life* was narrated to Georgios by Theodore himself and written down after his death, while the subsequent sections were begun earlier and developed by Georgios during Theodore's lifetime:⁴ Georgios

¹ Rosenqvist 1981.

² Sykeon is the conventional spelling, although it should more properly be spelled 'Sikeon' as shown by Rosenqvist 1981, 95 and corroborated by Afinogenov 2003, 198 on the basis of the Church Slavonic translation.

³ This terminus post quem is found in 166.34ff., where the death of the emperor Heraclius is predicted; cf. Rosenqvist 1980 and 1981, 118 n.20.

⁴ Cf. the suggestions in Baker 1976, 90.

tells us that once when he was seventeen the saint came across him working on the text and that he never ceased to write down what he saw or heard about Theodore (§ 165).

All-in-all three different versions of Theodore's life are extant: the longer *Life* (BHG 1748) – which is the one I discuss here – and 2 shorter versions (BHG 1749b and c). The latter are redacted to a degree that each of them may be viewed as a separate work.⁵ These texts have all been edited by Festugière (the *breviores* are found in an appendix).⁶ Festugière also provides a French translation and a commentary to the longer *Life*. A truncated English translation can be found in Dawes' and Baynes' collection *Three Byzantine Saints* (1948).⁷ There is also an encomiastic reworking by Nikephoros Skeuophylax (BHG 1749), dating from the 9th or 10th century.⁸ An early testimony to *VTh* can be found in the so-called *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (probably from the eighth century) where chapter 74 explicitly refers to an *VTh* 133.⁹

Festugière's edition, together with Rosenqvist's study, forms the basis of research on the *VTh*. There is no specific monograph on *VTh* apart from Rosenqvist's, but the *Life* has often been used as a 'case-study' in more wide-ranging contexts. Thus, Robin Cormack devoted the introductory essay of his *Writing in Gold* to Theodore, 'The visible saint', exploring the role of 'the visual' and of icons in the *Life* (together with various other observations),¹⁰ and the concluding chapter of Stephen Mitchell's *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* deals with *VTh* as well.¹¹ In addition a number of scholars such as Robert Browning, Vincent Déroche, Michel Kaplan and others have made important observations on various aspects of *VTh*.

Many of these scholars have explored the work's implications for the social history of late antiquity; *VTh* has been considered a main source of information for our knowledge about rural life in the countryside of eastern Anatolia in the sixth and seventh centuries.¹² It is also an important source for our knowledge about the changes in urban life, especially with regard to Anastasioupolis, where Theodore became bishop, and for the interaction

⁵ Cf. Festugière 1970 II, 283: 'un ouvrage nouveau'. On the versions and their manuscripts see, apart from the edition's account, the summary in Baker 1976, 84–86. Baker's proposed thesis that the abbreviated version of *VTh* found in Atheniensis BN 1014 represents a preparatory stage has been refuted by Rosenqvist 1980.

⁶ Festugière 1970 I and II.

⁷ Dawes and Baynes 1948; the translation is based on the earlier (1884) edition by Ioannou.

⁸ Ed. Kirch 1901, 249–72. On the context of this work, see Krausmüller 2003; cf. also Baker 1976, 92–95.

⁹ See Cameron's and Herrin's edition *ad loc.* with commentary.

¹⁰ Cormack 1985, 9–49.

¹¹ Mitchell 1993, 122–50.

¹² This is the explicit reason for including the *Life* in Dawes' and Baynes' volume of translations of late antique saint's lives. *VTh* was chosen because 'it gives the best picture known to us of life in Asia Minor in the Byzantine period before the Arab invasions of the Empire' (Dawes & Baynes 1948, 87). Cf. Magoulias 1990.

between cities and countryside.¹³ It has also attracted the interest of historians of medicine for its detailed descriptions of physical and mental illnesses healed by Theodore.¹⁴

The vividness in depicting everyday life is often brought out along with the *Life*'s wealth of topographical detail. 'There is', Peter Brown writes, 'an unremitting topographical circumstantiality to the Life of Theodore that strikes any reader who comes to it from the study of contemporary Byzantine saints' lives'; he then points out that the text, though only 161 pages long, contains the names of at least 68 sites in the region.¹⁵ This is slightly ironical: the importance of topography and exact geography in the *Life* has been much discussed, but the site of Sykeon itself has remained unknown and for long been a matter of some dispute. The text tells us that the village was located 12 miles from Anastasioupolis, which was the capital of Galatia, on the main imperial highway from Constantinople to Ancyra and the eastern frontier. Recent archaeological research, however, indicates that Sykeon should be identified with the site of Kiliseler south of Beypazarı.¹⁶

Apart from these debated issues of physical topography there is also an issue of topography as a literary device in *VTh*. In the article referred to above, Brown has discussed how the imperial road, the river Siberis and the crags of the mountains around Sykeon function as topographical 'zones' that structure the text.¹⁷ In an engagement with Bakhtin, Brown here introduces the term *chorotope*. By etymological analysis this concept would seem to annihilate itself, but what is meant is the way in which space appears as a mental construction in literature (juxtaposed antithetical zones), rather than a matter of positively measurable distances.¹⁸ I shall return to the topographical aspect below, but shift the focus to the well-known monastic metaphor of civilization and wilderness.

The saint and his biographer

Theodore was recognised as a holy man by his contemporaries and he was eventually considered one of the major saints of the Byzantine church. The proof of his sanctity was the many miracles he performed, and which are a conspicuous feature in the *Life*, ranging from the subjection and exorcism of demons to the healing of diseases and rainmaking. He is representative of the

¹³ Cf. Trombley 1985a; Whittow 1990, 25–28.

¹⁴ Especially Horden 1982, but also 1993. It has been noted that Theodore's miracles complements rather than competes with secular medicine. Cf. also the different approach in Stock 2006, where *VTh* is discussed from the perspective of the use of meditation in medicine and the relations between reading, meditation, and narratives of disease.

¹⁵ Brown 2006, 118. Comments on the *Life*'s richness in topographical detail are numerous, see e.g. Baker 1976, 84, Barchard 2003.

¹⁶ See the reports of Princeton University Tahirler Project (<http://courses.washington.edu/tahirler/reports.html>); cf. Walker (1998); Barchard (2003); Brown (2006), 120–21.

¹⁷ Brown 2006.

¹⁸ Brown 2006, 122–3.

saints that appeared after the age of the martyrs, when sainthood was acquired through asceticism and made manifest through divine gifts such as foreknowledge and healing.¹⁹

His mother was a prostitute in a country inn while his father was a by-passing imperial courier. Some scholars have taken Theodore as an example of a saint with a humble social background.²⁰ It should be noted, however, that this motif is never exploited in the text; already in § 5 his mother prepares him with a gold belt and expensive clothing as she plans to send him to imperial service in Constantinople, and in the following paragraph we are told that ‘the women were quite respectable’ (πάνυ κόσμιαι), having turned the inn into an exclusive restaurant.

The author of the *Life*, Georgios, presents himself in § 22 and then in § 148. He was born in a village in the region of Sykeon as a result from a blessing by Theodore himself after Georgios’ parents had several years of childlessness. They then sent their son as a recognition of thankfulness to the monastery. His original name was Eleusios, but he was given the name Georgios by Theodore, with whom he spent twelve years from 601 until Theodore’s death in 613.

Georgios had only received the most basic grammatical training from the monastery’s *paidodiskalos* (a certain Philoumenos, whose name is given at *VTh* 26).²¹ With regard to the deficiencies of his text George himself refers to his youth and consequent shortcomings as a biographer, telling us that he had not yet reached his eighteenth year and had not received much education (*paideusis*).²² He was instructed in grammar by Philoumenos ‘as far as was necessary’.²³ Cormack notes that Georgios’ superficial education is observable in his style, ‘which is direct and full of Biblical allusions—it lacks artificial references to the language or contents of the classics of pagan Antiquity’, but still conceives of Georgios as ‘an educated monk’ and his text as ‘one which shows a good grasp of language and Christian literature’.²⁴ Déroche is harsher and considers ‘l’incompétence rhétorique de l’auteur manifeste’.²⁵ Also Browning states that *VTh* is ‘the work of a man whose grasp of the literary language was uncertain’ and presents specific syntactic traits and examples from the text in some detail.²⁶ According to Rosenqvist the text

¹⁹ Cf. Rapp 1998, 281.

²⁰ See Browning 1981 and most recently Hennessy 2010, 86. On the theme, cf. the legend about Constantine’s mother Helena having been a harlot in an inn.

²¹ On the title, see Festugiere’s comment *ad.loc.* and the discussion in Kaster 1983, 344–345 (drawing attention to the Latin *magister puerorum* as a parallel expression) with some additional comments in Szabat (2007), 184. Déroche (2004, 376 n. 30) compares Philoumenos’ function to that of a master of the novices in a Benedictine monastery.

²² See esp. § 165.

²³ *VTh* 170.11: τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν γράμματα.

²⁴ Cormack 1985, 19 and 18 respectively.

²⁵ Déroche 2004, 374–375.

²⁶ Browning 1973, 136.

has a ‘decidedly literary character’, where the author has adjusted his language to Late Antique ‘standard prose’, such as can be found in for example the imperial secretariats, which has resulted in ‘ein Eindruck von abstrakter und unpersönlicher Objektivität’,²⁷ while S. F. Johnson mentions the ‘paratactical’ structure of the text.²⁸

What these divergent remarks seem to have in common is the recognition that the text is ‘un-classical’ and that its literary models are to be found elsewhere. Nevertheless it is certainly a ‘literary’ text in which various rhetorical devices are employed in order to persuade the reader of the protagonist’s sanctity and that he is a worthy subject of imitation and cult. The strategies and arguments are similar to those found in the various branches of rhetoric; the ‘display’ of actions (in this case especially miracles) – the sheer quantity of such performances becomes an argument in itself.²⁹ But there are also appeals to reason and verification as when Georgios discusses his sources of information in *VTh* 22.

The work: structure and themes

Georgios refers to the *Life* as a ‘pious narrative (*diegesis*)’ (§ 2) and tells us that he will go into as much detail as he is capable of and mentions the sources for his biography, the principal one being ‘the lips of the holy and saintly man himself’ (§ 22). The text proceeds in a simple chronological fashion, following the saint from birth to death. Thus, the first part relates Theodore’s birth, upbringing and vocation, followed by his ascetic achievements. He begins by hiding in a cave beneath the altar of the near-by oratory of St George and continues by withdrawing for two years in a pit in the mountains. As a result of his ascetic endeavours Theodore receives thaumaturgical powers and is ordained priest (§ 21), which ends the first part of the life (Theodore’s youth). The transition to the next section is marked by an insert discussion in which the biographer introduces himself in some detail and discusses his method of presentation.

Theodore then conducts his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he visits both the holy places and the desert monasteries and where he officially takes on the monastic habit (§ 24). Upon returning home he perseveres in his asceticism, spending a number of years chained and enclosed in first a wooden, then an iron cage suspended in the air and wearing iron fetters, a heavy corselet etc. During this period, numerous miracles occur.

Theodore’s first administrative duties begin in § 40, when he has become so popular that his many followers need to be organised in some way. He then builds a house and appoints his companion Philoumenos as he-

²⁷ Rosenqvist 1981, 85.

²⁸ Johnson 2006, 11 n.29

²⁹ The basic features of this aspects of Christian literature are well-known, see for example Cameron 1991, esp. Ch. 2 (pp. 47–88), discussing ‘the figurative and demonstrative side of Christian discourse’ (p. 50).

goumenos. As the community has been properly organised, Theodore again takes to travelling and visits various cities and villages in Asia Minor and once more journeys to the Jerusalem (§ 50–51). Theodore also begins to attract prominent visitors to Sykeon, among them the future emperor Maurice, whose rise to the throne is foretold by the saint.

When the bishop of Anastasioupolis dies, Theodore succeeds him, though reluctantly and literally forced by the clergy and land-owners, who ‘brought him out of his cave by force, placed him on a litter and took him away’.³⁰ His episcopate is consequently quite disastrous and lined with conflicts; during his third (and final) pilgrimage to the Holy Land (§ 62) he even decides to remain in the Mar Saba monastery, but after being rebuked by St George in a vision he returns home. After eleven years as a bishop he is finally able to resign his office and resume his monastic way of life (§ 73–81).³¹

By now Theodore is a famous holy man. He visits Constantinople where he performs a series of miracles (§ 82–97), including the healing of one of the emperor’s sons. He is also able to obtain privileges for his monastery. The cataloguing of miracles continues after the saint’s return to Sykeon; we are also told how he is able to obtain some relics of St George for his church. A second (§ 128–140) and a third (§ 152–155) journey to Constantinople and the new emperors Phokas and Heraklios respectively are undertaken as well as to other places. Finally *VTh* relates the concluding years of Theodore’s life, his last illness and death on 22 April 613.

Festugière notes at the very outset of his edition that *VTh* resembles the *Lives* of other *thaumatourgoi* of the same period.³² The fierce asceticism for which *VTh* is famous, is found primarily in the first part of the *Life*, whereas the subsequent parts focus more on Theodore’s travels, miracles and, to some extent, his duties as a bishop, i.e. on his interactions with society rather than his separation from it.

There are many recurring themes and situations in *VTh*, most notably, of course, the many miracles performed by Theodore. A large portion of the work consists of catalogues of miracles. One example is the long section that relates the many healings performed by Theodore during his visit to Constantinople (§§ 83–97). The social diversity among Theodore’s clients may be noted; the miracles range from the exorcism of demons from possessed slaves (for example in § 84) to the healing of one of the emperor Maurice’s children who suffered from elephantiasis (§ 97). Theodore’s own illnesses

³⁰ *VTh* 58.14–15.

³¹ On Theodore’s failure as a bishop, see Whittow 1990, 26–7. The most extensive discussion of Theodore’s episcopate is found in Rapp 2005, 155–166, where it is compared with that of Synesius of Cyrene. See also Kaplan (1993), who contrasts rural saints such as Theodore of Sykeon and Nicholas of Sion with saints like John the Almsgiver, who cultivated his holiness precisely by exercising his office as a bishop.

³² Festugière 1970 I, p. v.

and their cures are also a recurrent theme.³³ It begins in § 8, where Theodore at the age of twelve is struck by an attack of bubonic plague. He is carried to a near-by church of St John the Baptist and cured: ‘drops of dew fell on him from the icon, and immediately, by the grace of God, he was relieved from his pain and recovered’.³⁴ This is paralleled in § 106–8, where we are told that Theodore suffers from a recurring affliction of the eyes (Maguire suggests hay-fever). To find relief he decides to travel to Sozopolis and the church of the Theotokos. Inside the church he gazes at the ‘icon of the myrrh’ whereupon the oil emitted from the icon gathers into a bubble and pours down over his eyes and face.³⁵ Further examples of Theodore’s physical ailments and their cures can be found (e.g. § 39 which includes a vision of the saints Kosmas and Damianos).

I shall not investigate these themes and motifs in detail, but merely mention them to provide some examples of how the text is built up and centred around certain recurring concepts and situations. I shall, however, take a closer look on one of these themes: the contrast and interaction, often metaphorically expressed, between the cultivated, civilized world populated by humans and the wilderness, haunted by beasts and demons.

James Goehring has discussed the symbolic use in monastic texts of the distinction between the desert and the city, a metaphor that ‘works so powerfully because it divides so sharply’.³⁶ In the biographies of the Egyptian monks of the fourth century, notably the *Life of Antony*, the city is associated with falsehood and human corruptness, while truth is found in the desert. This metaphoric dichotomy, as Goehring has shown, remained a forceful hagiographical topos, even if it did not always correspond to monastic practice. In *VTh*, however, a slightly different contrast between the settled and the wild is developed.

In *VTh* a line is drawn between civilisation and wilderness, between order and chaos, but the holy man belongs to both worlds. He is a borderline figure whose task, rather than to withdraw from human society, is to maintain the *status quo* between human civilization and demonic disorder.³⁷ Theodore thus acts as a mediator, not only between God and men, but also between the ordered and the wild, a shaman “on the fence” (to use the metaphor of Hans Peter Duerr’s *Traumzeit*). He is able to cross the border and venture into the

³³ As noted in *VTh* 105.1–2 ‘this worker of miracles was subject to bodily suffering, like the apostle Paul’.

³⁴ *VTh* 8.8–10 ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνης ἐπέσταξαν αὐτῷ σταγόνες δρόσου, καὶ εὐθέως τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ κουφισθεὶς τοῦ πόνου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο.

³⁵ *VTh* 108.14–20. Strictly speaking, as Cormack (1985, 35) notes, we are never told that Theodore is healed in the process. Just as important seem to be the fact that the icon is affected by Theodore’s presence, indicating his status as a holy man.

³⁶ Note also Rapp 2006 with further references.

³⁷ Browning’s description of Theodore’s asceticism as ‘a ritual disassociation from society’ (Browning 1973, 137) can therefore be accepted only with a certain caution: the disassociation is for the very sake of society’s benefit; the word ‘ritual’ becomes very important here.

wild, but at the same time he is the guardian of the boundaries between order and chaos, keeping the two apart and preventing their collapse into an alternative reality.

In its view on the relationship between nature, society and the holy man *VTh* thus represents what Goehring considers an older division between demonic desert and divine city.³⁸ Theodore's power over the wilderness and control of nature for the benefit of his fellow men is underlined by the miracles in which he changes the courses of rivers (§ 45) and through typically shamanistic activities such as rainmaking (§ 51; 101), a talent that is not restricted to Christian hagiography.³⁹ Theodore is also able to avert rain during a transportation of unslaked lime for the building of a new church (§ 56), and there is a brief section on how Theodore makes savage domestic animals docile (§ 98–9). This 'shamanistic function', the power over nature and landscape, has been examined and put in historical perspective by Frank Trombley.⁴⁰ Trombley also connects it to the theme of rivalry between the saint and a local magician (in *VTh* it is a man called Theodotos Kourappos, who is eventually defeated by Theodore and converted to Christianity).

The many demons that appear in *VTh* are also good examples of Theodore's ability to defend the borders of the civilized world. That the demons belong to the unsettled wilderness is clear from the description of the dangers in the night when young Theodore slips away to the shrine of St George, where the "wicked demons, the enemies of truth" appear to Theodore "in the semblance of wolves and other wild beasts" (§ 8). Yet, they constantly try to get as close to the humans as they can, and when trying to infiltrate the settled world the demons may take on less ferocious animal forms: as a mouse running inside the body of a human, visible beneath the skin, or as a black dog (§ 106).⁴¹

There is also a vertical dimension to the wilderness, with demons lurking in the ground. When the humans attempt to expand the arable land, digging in the ground or moving stones, they constantly release the "great army of unclean spirits" dwelling in the graves of the "Hellenes", i.e. pagans. And in "Greek" tombs, either a sarcophagus § 118 or when removing slabs from a hill containing (explicitly or implicitly) an ancient grave § 114, 115–116.⁴²

³⁸ Goehring 1993, 283. In this view, then, 'the flood of ascetes to the desert can be understood as an effort by the monks to expand divine civilization into the uncivilized realms of Satan' (*ibid.*).

³⁹ Cf, for example, the theurgical performances of the Neoplatonist Proclus in Marinus, *Life of Proclus*.

⁴⁰ Trombley 1985b; cf. e.g. p. 338: 'The Anatolian shamans claimed to have power over geological and meteorological phenomena'.

⁴¹ Trombley (1985b), 340, points to the black dog as an example of how important it was for the saint to be acquainted with local superstition; Krueger 1993, 441 points to a similar view on dogs in the *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool*.

⁴² Such demons in tombs are fairly frequent in hagiography, cf. e.g. *The Life of Symon the Stylite the Younger* 1.201.

This motif shows that the chaotic forces of *VTh* inhabit a chronological hinterland as well; outside the domesticized present there is a lurking, pagan past, hidden in as much mystery as the crags and holes of the wild. The antique objects are depicted not as things to be adored, but merely as unsettling presences and possibly of a demonic nature. Here too the saint has an important function to fulfil. Thus, when the lid of the pagan sarcophagus has been removed and Theodore has subdued the demons let out, he refuses to return the lid to the sarcophagus, which is instead used as a water-through in the nearby village. Through this act, Theodore not only restores a former position, but performs an active de-mystification of a pagan artefact, bringing it into the sphere of everyday knowledge and turning it into an agrarian object.

Theodore thus not only conquers the chaotic forces; by gradually infringing on their domains and visibly marking out the new borders, for example with crosses stuck in the ground (e.g. § 45, 52), Theodore, like a persistent gardener slowly expands the domains of civilization. Thus, for all his thorny asceticism, the metaphor used to describe Theodore is eventually that of the rose, the foremost flower of the civilised garden—τὸν ἐκ πορνικῶν ἀκανθῶν κλάδον ῥοδοφόρον ἔγκαρπον εὐσεβείας ἀναβλαστήσαντα, “*en fromhetens rosenkvist, sprungen ur syndens törnen*” (§ 25).⁴³

⁴³ For the non-Swedish reader: “a rose-branch (*rosenkvist* or *rosenqvist*) of piety, sprung forth from the thorns of sin”.

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STEFANOS ETHIMIADIS

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BENTE KIILERICH

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